

Behold the Image-makers:
The Structure of the Olympic movement and
its image, in the context of the Olympic
Games bidding process.

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Contents.

p.8 Introduction

Section 1: Historical Appraisals.

p.32 Chapter 1 - The Rise, Fall and Cultivation of Olympic Tradition.

p.59 Chapter 2 - The structure of the Olympic Movement and the role of Olympism

p.85 Chapter 3 - ‘For the good of the games..?’: How the IOC Presidents have shaped the organisational image.

Section 2: The Influence of the Media.

p.113 Chapter 4 - Media development, Public Relations practice and the use of organisational image management.

p.145 Chapter 5 - ‘Symbiotic or Parasitic?’: The developing relationship between the Olympic movement and the media related to the promotion of the Olympic image.

Section 3: The operation of the bidding process.

p.175 Chapter 6 - ‘Paying the piper, and calling the tune’: The development of the selection criteria for use within the Olympic Games bidding process.

p.205 Chapter 7 - ‘One Step Behind’: Policy, Practice and Reality in the Olympic Games bidding process.

Section 4: The Olympic Image.

p.236 Chapter 8 - ‘Cleaning the Lens...’: Organisational transparency and the idea of a new and dynamic Olympism.

p.262 Conclusion.

p.269 Appendices.

Appendix I List of IOC Presidents

Appendix II List of IOC Congresses

Appendix III Olympic Bidding Cities since 1896

Appendix IV US Network Payments for Olympic Television Rights

Appendix V Current TOP V Sponsors (Through to 2004)

Appendix VI The Division of Olympic Revenues

Appendix VII Ownership of the Global Media

Appendix VIII The backgrounds and influences of the IOC Membership

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Jonathan M Thomas

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Abstract

This study shows that the interaction between the Olympic movement and the media has necessitated a process of organisational image-management. This has become increasingly central and not simply peripheral to the staging and development of the modern Olympic Games since the late nineteenth century.

The success in developing the modern Olympic phenomenon is often determined by observers, as being related to the image and tradition associated with the event, the growth of the Olympic movement – especially in terms of affiliated nations – and the financial revenues that are now available. Subsequently, a process begins whereby the Olympic organisations diverge in practice from their traditional ideals. These ideals relate to the ethics and values associated with the organisational purpose of the Olympic movement.

In order to maintain the desired growth and yet also seem to adhere to the traditional ideals of the movement, a definite degree of information management has begun at an organisational level. The pragmatic use of the abstract, humanist philosophy of Olympism and the adoption of certain more modern public relations practices have facilitated the management task carried out by the Olympic authorities.

Undoubtedly, well-documented events and issues also have relevance to this analysis. However, the actual bidding process for the Olympic Games – and the related transformations that occurred in this following the Los Angeles Olympics of 1984 – provides a clearer focus of how the Olympic authorities operate. Close consideration will be made of the recent developments in the bidding process and the damaging effect upon the image of the IOC as the executive Olympic authority, following the Salt Lake City bid for 2002 and the related vote-buying scandal that was made public in late 1998. This thesis therefore focuses on Olympic celebration amid a backdrop of increasingly controlled image management. As a result of recent negative publicity, such efforts at exerting power and control over the image will have to be more carefully employed. Meanwhile the increasingly vital role of the image continues, as it directly contributes to the perception of the Olympics as a differentiated, positive product that creates demand from the media, sponsors and advertisers.

Abbreviations

AAU – Amateur Athletic Union (US)

ABC – American Broadcasting Corporation

AIBA – International Amateur Boxing Association

AIWF – Association of International Winter Sports Federations

ANOC – Association of National Olympic Committees

ANOCA – Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa

AOC – American Olympic Committee (Forerunner of the USOC.)

ASOIF – Association of Summer Olympic International Sports Federations

BOA – British Olympic Association

CBS – Columbia Broadcasting System (US)

CONI – Italian National Olympic Committee

FEI – International Equestrian Federation

FIBA – International Amateur Basketball Federation

FIFA – Federation of International Football Associations

FIG – International Gymnastics Federation

FIH – International Hockey Federation

FINA – International Amateur Swimming Federation

FIS – International Ski Federation

GAISF – General Association of International Sports Federations

GANFO – Games of the New Emerging Forces

IAAF – International Amateur Athletic Federation

IBC – International Broadcasting Centre

IRHF – International Roller-hockey Federation

IOA – International Olympic Academy

IOC – International Olympic Committee

ISF – International Sports Federation

ISU – International Skating Union

MLB – Major League Baseball (US)

MPC – Main Press Centre

NBA – National Basketball Association (US)

NBC – National Broadcasting Company (US)

NCAA – National Collegiate Athletic Association (US)

NOC – National Olympic Committee

OAU – Organisation of African Unity

OCOG – Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (e.g. Sydney 2000 – SOCOG)

OOC – Olympic Organising Committee (e.g. Los Angeles OOC - LAOOC)

OS – Olympic Solidarity

PASO – Pan-American Sports Organisation

SPC – Subsidiary Press Centre

UEFA – Union of European Football Associations

USOC – United States Olympic Committee

INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this thesis is to portray Olympic operation as it really is rather than how it is presented via official information channels and numerous media filters.

The working hypothesis is that:

‘Historical developments and related organisational changes have directly affected the media’s coverage of Olympic sport. This process has also affected the Olympic image as a result of the divergence of official information from the reality. However, the relationship with the media is unstable and unpredictable, having further implications for the presentation of the Olympic message and the celebration of the Olympic Games.’

The progression through the topic will illustrate issues and challenges as they impact upon the official version. A conceptual framework akin to a road map - that directs the analysis - is expected to provide a coherent progression through the topic. It is assumed that the subsequent analysis will provide an illustration of the Olympic Games (and their operational and organisational demands) as a reflection of a particular moment in time both as a sporting event but also as a significant event in a global sense. The Olympic movement seeks to stage the Olympic Games as revived by Pierre de Coubertin, by setting them apart from other sporting competitions. This was done by organisational attempts at making the games both universally accepted and ethically sound. It has not been an easy task. Given the successes enjoyed by the whole of the organisation at the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney, at first glance it would seem that nowadays the phenomenon is going from strength to strength.

Generally speaking it is better for sport and its governing bodies to anticipate change rather than have it forced upon them. It would seem that the Olympic movement is certainly guilty of reacting to change rather than directly affecting shifts in the dynamic through a proactive approach. Another important portion of the approach is illustrated by the relationship between sport and society. Indeed, whatever form sport takes it is important only in terms of how it fits into a particular society and what that sporting form means to that society. It is now prudent to establish the form that this thesis will take.

This includes establishing the parameters of the study, a brief review of the key sources used and a set of definitions that establish a broad framework for the analysis.

The first part of this introductory section will take the form of a detailed explanation of how the chapters will shape the thesis. This is expected to further determine the purpose and direction of this particular study. It is also important at this early stage to introduce the details of the methodologies used here. While a historical and cultural analysis is at the centre of the thesis, it also involves important comparative, descriptive and evaluative elements. Initial chapters will serve as an appraisal of the state of current Olympic research while establishing the historical and cultural background to the thesis. Causal process theory with its common method of analysing and developing ideas¹ has been drawn upon throughout the research process whereby a selective form of content analysis has been applied to the sources used.

The focus of this introduction will then shift to a literature review, establishing the current theoretical base and regarding the academic works that have been drawn upon within the field. While the topic of inquiry in this thesis relates to the relationship between the modern Olympic movement and the global mass media, the wider subject area involves the analytical aspects of organisational theory and the tradition of strategic management as applied to large multinational concerns. The thesis is also positioned within the context of public relations policy and practice within Olympic organisations. Subsequently, but as importantly, the related issues of the practicalities of the Olympic games bidding process will provide notable examples of the peculiar machinations of the Olympic authorities. It is therefore envisaged that this thesis will provide a key Olympic context that allows an incorporated interdisciplinary approach to be taken.

The analysis of the current literature in the field will be approached by briefly considering those main texts and sources which are primarily concerned with the early history of the Greek Olympic tradition and the revival movement at the turn of the nineteenth century. Subsequently, the emphasis, research-findings and conclusions of

¹ Walliman, N. Your Research Project (London 2001) p.85

those works detailing Olympic matters up to the outbreak of the Second World War will be considered. The sources related to the post-war period, however, are more directly relevant to the analytical angle of approach to be taken within this particular thesis. In this period fundamental developments and structural changes both outside and within the Olympic movement, become clearer. Importantly it is this period that corresponds to a significant extension of the bid criteria. Certain sources have been grouped together under the headings Miscellaneous Theoretical and Sociological Themes. This illustrates how the interdisciplinary strands are incorporated within the thesis.

After detailing the body of literature and the types of sources that have been used, the parameters of this study will be established. It is envisaged that this section will also directly assist in setting out working definitions for the purpose of use within the thesis. Some key concepts require definitional parameters to be established for reasons of both terminological clarity and to highlight certain assumptions that are being made. It should be stressed that these definitions are not universal or consistent over time. As the position of this thesis within the relevant body of work is highlighted, further clarity will be given to the approach being taken and methodologies used.

(i) How the chapters shape the thesis

The emphasis provided by positioning the thesis in terms of theoretical pluralism and the associated notion of multiple lenses allows insights into the operation of the Olympics movement in its widest sense.² This is especially relevant for an analysis of the relationship between the media and the Olympic authorities. As can be seen from the contents page, the presentation of this thesis will take the form of four separate sections: (1) Historical Appraisals, (2) The Influence of the Media, (3) The Socio-economics of the bidding process, and (4) The Olympic Image. Within each section the chapters will break down as follows.

Section 1 related to the historical appraisal of the problem, covers chapters 1, 2 and 3. The approach taken in Chapters 1 and 2 is one of setting the scene. The purpose of

² Bowman, E. in, Fredrickson J. (Ed): Perspectives on Strategic Management (New York 1990) pp.29-37

Chapter 1 is to set the historical context of the Olympic revival movement during the latter part of the nineteenth century through to the beginning of the Second World War. It approaches the subject area from a perspective critical of the reinvention of Olympic tradition inherent within this process. Interesting parallels can be drawn with the later analysis related to the creation of an organisational and sporting image. Chapter 2 more specifically establishes the unique structure of the wider Olympic movement. The central role of Olympism as a philosophical facilitator will be highlighted here. The analysis also includes those actors and agencies that affect all aspects of the operational dynamic. Many of these factors and agents of change exist outside the traditional organisational structures and yet are significant for an examination of the Olympic phenomenon that has developed throughout the last century. Details of the particular Olympic Games through to 1984 are expanded in this chapter. Furthermore, it also shifts the focus slightly to consider the increasing role of Olympism in determining organisational policy and practice.

Leading on from this, Chapter 3 focuses directly upon the role played by the various IOC Presidents in the development of the Olympic Games. The organisation's relations with the growing media and how the particular personalities of IOC Presidents have affected the practicalities of the operational dynamic are also highlighted here. This begins the process of a further shift in the analysis towards examining more closely the official attempts at nurturing a particular organisational image. The conduct of individual Presidents in the organisation's relationship with the media can be seen to correlate with the perceived effectiveness of a particular presidency, especially as the media forms become more sophisticated throughout the period under consideration. Despite this media development it is interesting to note how little the message has changed. In many ways the organisational interpretation of Olympism continues to provide the required latitude in terms of the management of the organisational image and direction. This also provides a further insight into the complexities of the operational tasks and organisational behaviour of the Olympic authorities.

Section 2 begins from Chapter 4 onwards, providing a different approach that highlights the historical progression of media influence within society, the growth and spread of public relations practice and the management of an organisational image. Again these are considered from the perspective of theoretical pluralism. The triangulation process required of a multiple lens approach serves to further focus the thesis towards an analysis of the operational reality within the Olympic movement. The specific process of controlling official information as analysed here takes the form of an interdisciplinary model relating specifically to the organisational structure, public relations practice and the desire within the Olympic movement to embrace change. After this has been established within the thesis, it will be necessary to shift the emphasis of the piece. A more in-depth analysis of the relationship between the Olympic movement and the media highlights how image making was first brought to the attention of those key individuals within the Olympic movement who were in a position to facilitate the more deliberate use of information control and comment management. There is clearly much scope for further academic enquiry into the influence of public relations and spin doctoring upon the official version. However, this thesis will provide neither an exhaustive disclosure of Olympic operations, nor a blind critique of the Olympic authorities. 'Behold the Imagemakers' literally relates to how the pressure to employ public relations practices has affected the operation of the organisation as a whole. By considering the Olympic movement as an organisation, (indeed as a sum of often-conflicting parts) an illustration of how public relations practices have affected the perception and image of the Olympic Games is provided.

The thesis then shifts from a history-based analysis to consider a broader scope that incorporates relevant elements of social history, social psychology and sociology. From Chapter 5 onwards the emphasis develops from a historical-analytical context, to a broader socio-economic and cultural one with the emphasis upon the role of the media and the related concept of organisational image-management. In Chapter 5 an investigation into the actual operational aspects of the Olympic movement's developing relationship within the glare of the increasingly efficient, international media limelight is provided. The application of theoretical pluralism regarding the agents of change is

especially important to this analysis. Again the centrality of Olympism to the maintenance of the Olympic image is demonstrated.

Section 3 extensively reviews the bidding process beginning with Chapter 6. This details and compares the list of official bidding criteria established in the mid-1950s with those used in the mid-1980s. This in turn provides evidence for further examination related to the actual procedures involved in the bidding process and the effect upon Olympic structures. The criteria employed within this process, at the time when the Olympic movement was expanding following the success of Los Angeles 1984 and the subsequent increase in bid proposals, provide a valuable insight into comparative practice within the Olympic authorities. The significant differences between the two sets of bid criteria further emphasise how much and in what way the practical aspects of this most vital organisational task have changed.

The state of the bidding process, the influence of the media upon it and the character of the Olympic Games as a global sports spectacle, are the main themes that are developed in Chapter 7. How far do organisational efforts affect the particular character of an Olympic festival? This chapter will also consider the controversial background to Olympic bids throughout the 1990s and up to Sydney in 2000. Importantly, an initial appraisal of the Salt Lake City scandal will highlight the reality of the Olympic dynamic. This will later allow for a fuller analysis of the episode in Chapter 8, which employs a critical analysis of the procedures surrounding the wider Olympic Games bidding process.

Analysis and criticism are the key elements of Section 4 with particular relevance to an appraisal of the Olympic image. Chapter 8 focuses largely on a consideration of the future direction of the Olympic movement. This establishes a critique of past Olympic practice related to the authorities' divergence from their projected image. The implications for the long-term future of the Olympic Games are serious. Increasingly the success of the event itself is dependent upon the desirability and maintenance of the Olympic image. The idea of the development of a new and dynamic Olympism will be an

important part of the analysis at this later stage. In fact it can be said that up to now, despite even the significant shifts that have occurred, a certain degree of organisational inertia has effectively preserved the Olympic status quo. Furthermore, the effects of social factors upon the practicalities of the bidding process are also dynamic in nature. A case study of the Salt Lake City bid scandal, related to the awarding of next year's 2002 winter Olympic Games, provides an excellent example of the reality of the situation that has existed within Olympic organisations for a significant period. How more contemporary issues can be managed more effectively than past challenges comprises the final analytical strand of the thesis. The application of concepts from the strategic management tradition will assist in the analysis of this process.

The conclusions of each chapter will be incorporated into the thesis and are appraised in terms of the operational practices of the Olympic authorities. Throughout the analytical process, the thesis avoids detailing exclusively either the summer or winter Olympic Games as these will be dealt with where most relevant to the broader emphasis. An inherent assumption throughout this thesis is the fact that the actual reality differs from the official version of events. This notion will be explored throughout the piece. In fact, it is envisaged that such themes will provide a thread running through the thesis, and set the scene for subsequent conclusions. Conclusions are therefore expected to be short, succinct and especially coherent, in the sense that key observations that have been addressed throughout the thesis are revisited. Clearly the information contained in the appendices are intended to provide supporting evidence for the analysis. In this regard, the centrality of Appendix 8 - which details the backgrounds of the IOC Members - to the whole thesis is clear as it provides an insight into the individual members so often referred to in the context of the IOC as an amorphous grouping. Wherever appropriate, appendices will be highlighted within the relevant chapters.

(ii) Literature Review

The literature review concentrates upon the key sources used to establish the background to the thesis. This has been done in the form of a chronology as this best

represents the materials available, and highlights any possible tensions that exist between source material produced at different points in time.

(a) The Formative Period (up to 1900):

My sources for this period are both varied and contemporary in that they represent the current thinking on the subject area. The ancient Greek tradition was detailed in great depth in a series of lectures by Dr. I. Weiler and Prof. D. Kyle at the 7th Postgraduate IOA Session Olympia, Greece (1999). Notably, given the subject under consideration in this thesis, the series of lectures and papers establish a link between the constituent values of Olympism and the ancient Greek theory of Kalokagathia.³ Extensive insights were also gained into the social dimension of the ancient games, which in turn provides a valuable point of reference. Although there are increasingly fewer essays being published on this period, especially compared to more recent events, the quality of those that have appeared provided further valuable information. (For example, Dyreson, M. America's Athletic missionaries: Political performance, Olympic spectacle and the Quest for an American national culture, 1896-1912 Olympika Vol.1 1992)

Indeed, the formative years of the modern phenomenon have been extensively examined in two separate yet important books. David Young's The Modern Olympics: A Struggle for Revival portrays the revival movement of the mid-19th century through to the first Games in Athens in 1896. Young makes use of newly discovered sources, especially letters and personal correspondence, related to the revival movement in Greece itself. The other notable study is J. MacAloon's This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the origins of the modern Olympic Games that also details the early Olympic movement as well as its efforts to expand. While informative, this book has a slightly different emphasis as it more specifically considers the role of Pierre de Coubertin as the founder of Olympism, and his effect upon the Olympic Games. An extensive list of primary sources in the form of personal correspondence and official documents provides an important undercurrent to both these books.

³ The Greek concept of Kalokagathia relates to the harmony when body and mind work in concert. Indeed, Plato stated that the body and the mind are impoverished when an individual desists from physical activity. Martinkova I. 7th International Postgraduate IOA seminar series Olympia, Greece (June 1999)

Useful, if somewhat limited analytically is A.Carter's The Olympic Glory that was Greece. However, a concentration on the art and artifacts surrounding the ancient gatherings illustrates the role of symbolism and artistic imagery even at this stage in the chronology. Disappointingly, there are few journal articles still being written on this period of Olympic history although much use was made of material held at the Library at the International Olympic Academy. Information obtained directly from the International Olympic Committee, in Lausanne, Switzerland, has also provided an important official source.⁴

Accounts of the first two Olympic Games are widespread and invariably uncritical of the organisation and general content of these gatherings. However, C.Hill, in Olympic Politics: From Athens to Atlanta sets out clearly the background to the events in a more analytical manner. A number of journals especially Olympika, International Journal for the History of Sport (IJHS) and Citius, Altius, Fortius have been useful in presenting essays related to specific issues and events during this period. Finally, B.Mallon's, The Olympics: A Bibliography details extensive sources related to the study of the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games over the last Olympic century.

(b) Faltering steps (1900-1940):

The sources here are limited somewhat by the poor state of the records kept at the time. That said, there are a number of useful studies, many of which span wider periods of Olympic history. There is some overlap from the first section, indeed, MacAloon's This Great Symbol details the early period of the Olympic Games when the staging and continuance of the festival were fraught with problems. Use has also been made of the IOC's online archives via the official website, which provided invaluable source materials from the early Olympic festivals.⁵ This was of great assistance in understanding and analysing some of the more complex historical episodes during this period.

⁴ The research process itself has given some interesting insights into the extent of the image management and maintenance that exist within Olympic structures

⁵ <http://www.olympic.org> International Olympic Committee Accessed between 9/12/98 and 7/9/2000

The Avery Brundage Collection at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, USA, provided information related to the strength of the United States and the capitalist west within the Olympic movement. This material also detailed the strains within the organisation, as experienced by USOC member and later IOC President, Avery Brundage. These strains can be illustrated by analysing the balance of power relations between the different Olympic authorities, and the role of the IOC as the governing body and guardian of the Olympic movement. Again, the library at the International Olympic Academy, Olympia, Greece was of great use as it holds many official publications unavailable elsewhere other than in Switzerland. The library at the British Olympic Association in Wandsworth, London also holds important information and papers from a variety of past and present British IOC members. While it is clear that many sources detailed so far are western sources in terms of their origins and emphasis, wherever possible use of the Internet has supplied insights relevant to other cultures, nations and ideologies.

A number of journals provide detailed snapshots of the Olympic events especially related to particular Olympic Games or even significant issues surrounding the Olympic phenomenon at the time. Accounts of particular Olympic Games actually become increasingly complete as standard recording practice is established. There are a number of authors who have extensively analysed this period. Among the more notable of these are: Mandell, R. The Nazi Olympics Hoberman, J. The Olympic Crisis - Sport, Politics and the Moral Order Renson, R. The Games Reborn - The VIIIth Olympiad, Antwerp 1920 and Guttman, A. The Games Must Go On - Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement. Indeed Hoberman, in particular, develops a convincing critique of the Olympic movement and its founder Pierre de Coubertin.

Certain sources related to the theoretical pluralism of disciplines within this thesis, now become more important. Two titles stand out. S.Ambrose's book, Rise to Globalism - American Foreign Policy since 1938 that details the wider post-war diplomatic situation, and J.A.C.Brown's Techniques of Persuasion – From Propaganda to Brainwashing covering the broader aspects of attempts at influencing opinion. Both assist

in the expansion of the analysis into a more inter-disciplinary approach. Wherever possible, relevant comparisons are drawn, in terms of how the analysis can relate the experience and practice within the Olympic movement to other operationally similar organisations, such as the UN, International NGOs, charities and national governments.

(c) Miscellaneous theoretical:

At this stage it is prudent to expand on the types of sources drawn upon from the other disciplines involved in the analysis. The Journal of Sports Management has provided a valuable insight into this particular aspect of the Olympic mix, namely the theory and practice associated with managing the sporting environment. Consideration of this has become increasingly important and influential throughout the past Olympic century. B.Mullin et al, have also provided significant information on the link between business, the media and sport, in Sport Marketing. Furthermore, it should be stressed that such disciplines as combined within this thesis and incorporated within this particular analytical approach are not usually considered as being linked. Indeed one of the few studies that dealt more specifically with certain aspects of the approach taken here is Understanding Sport Organisations by Trevor Slack.

While sources related to analyses of individual Olympic bids are numerous and in most cases exhaustive, there does not seem to have been as much interest in pursuing an analysis of the development of the bidding process. This thesis will seek to address that stated discrepancy. Again the Avery Brundage collection holds extensive documentation related to the bidding process. In fact, the bid books sent to Brundage during his time as a sports administrator comprise a large portion of the collection. For a primarily British stance the British Olympic Association library was again very useful. Indeed, many of the bid books from the 1970s onwards were held here. A key source throughout this thesis but increasingly related to the contemporary period are Internet sources. The Games Cities Play by P. De Lange is one of the few books to concentrate primarily on the bidding process. Ultimately, it provides little in the way of analysis but is useful for background information, although it does include extensive details of Cape Town's unsuccessful bid for the 2004 Olympic Games.

The organisational theory stance is drawn from the following sources amongst others; D.Pugh (Ed) Organization Theory: Selected Readings S.Wright (Ed) The Anthropology of Organisations and P.Drucker Managing in a Time of Great Change. All of these contribute to both traditional and more contemporary ways of examining the organisational form. Theoretical pluralism and the associated interpretation and analysis of those issues that challenge the Olympic status quo, via the perspective afforded by the use of multiple lenses, provides the basis for the wider analysis. It is clear that technological advances throughout history are unlikely ever to be repeated, as many of the historical opportunities that presented themselves are unique. Furthermore it is clear that practice and theory are not always well connected. The purpose of this thesis is to ruminate and review, to be thought provoking rather than encyclopedic.

Political and international relations perspectives have been gleaned from a variety of sources. For example: Ambrose, S. Rise to Globalism, Kennedy, P. Preparing for the Twenty-first Century and Fulbright, J. The Arrogance of Power. As well as these titles, there are more directly relevant books in terms of Olympic matters that have been of use throughout this thesis. For example: Hill, C. Olympic Politics, Kanin, D. Political History of the Olympic Games, Hoberman, J. The Olympic Crisis, Guttmann, A. The Olympics, Senn, A. Power, Politics and the Olympic Games, and finally, Segrave, J and Chu, D. (Eds) The Olympic Games in Transition.

Public relations and the practical examples of it (a cornerstone of the analytical aspect of the thesis, especially related to the making of an image) are drawn from diverse sources. Examples of these are: Chomsky, N. Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies, and Deterring Democracy, also Chomsky, N. and Herman, E. Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media and Chomsky, N. with Barsamian, D. Chronicles of Dissent. Other key texts were: Brown, J. Techniques of Persuasion, Fulbright, J. The Arrogance of Power and Jones, N. Soundbites and

Spindoctors. The staff at the Freedom Forum⁶ provided numerous documents and general information output, which served as important background to this section.

A comparative approach to the organisational aspects of the Olympic movement has been developed most notably by scholars such as Hoberman and can provide interesting insights into how the Olympic movement operates internally. More importantly, as Hoberman contests, there has been little serious consideration of the comparative approach, as there is a position argued by certain scholars, that the Olympic movement is unique in terms of its composition and operation.⁷ Hoberman suggests that to accept this view as fact would be folly. He refers to this as ‘the fatal assumption’⁸ where it is assumed that we know and understand everything about the Olympic movement. This is unlikely when such a diverse organisation is under consideration. Clearly elements of the comparative approach appear relevant to the analysis here.

How the Olympic movement relates to other similarly-sized organisations provides Hoberman with fertile ground for a broad critical analysis. Allen Guttmann, however, writes more from a traditional, historical approach, in an entertaining style that is succinct and to the point. Much of the emphasis of his work has provided a benchmark from which other writers have been able to begin a broader and more detailed analysis of the Olympic movement. His, The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games remains an important general text. Again for this more contemporary era, extensive use was made of the British Olympic Association library in Wandsworth, London, The Avery Brundage Collection at the University of Illinois, USA and the library at the International Olympic Academy, Olympia, Greece. Having now established the type of sources used in terms of expanding this thesis to an inter-disciplinary approach, it is now possible to further clarify the theoretical base of the thesis.

⁶ The Freedom Forum is an organisation dedicated to expanding the reality of a free press and media internationally. The Freedom Forum European Centre, Lancaster Gate (London 1996)

⁷ Lucas J. The Future of the Olympic Games (Champaign 1992) p.124

(d) Sociological perspectives and sporting culture:

At this point it is prudent to elaborate upon the sociological background of the thesis and the theories drawn upon. Functionalist sociology, including how social facts constrain and regulate social actors, seems to have particular relevance to this analysis. More generally, for functionalists sport is a social institution that transmits values to participants. They believe it functions as a means of maintaining the larger society.⁹ This is of particular relevance when analysing the continuing Olympic status quo. Furthermore, aspects of Gramsci's theoretical hegemony also provide a useful analytical lens. Hegemony is central to understanding the ways in which class or class fractions achieve leadership over the rest of society.¹⁰ It condensed a number of major themes concerning the process of cultural domination and conflict. This would therefore seem to be particularly applicable to the analysis proposed, especially in the context of public relations and propaganda. Interestingly, from the perspectives taken in this thesis, the following quotation from G.Jarvie and J.Maguire on the notion of hegemony illustrates the scope of the theory as it relates to the thesis.

The production of public information and dialogue about how sport works, who makes the decisions about sport and leisure, who is involved and why, are all important ever changing questions which differ from territory to territory or community to community. Yet they are part and parcel of understanding the overall anatomy of sport and leisure in a changing contemporary world.¹¹

Figurational sociology and the notion of a civilising process provides a further important part of the conceptual framework. The theory views sociology as involving the study of how people cope with the problem of interdependence. There are sensitising concepts that are central to the theory, which serve to give a detailed insight into a particular subject.¹² Invariably the theory is influenced by the notion that unintentional interdependencies lie at the root of every intentional interaction. It will be illustrated in due course that these unintentional interdependencies, when applied to the Olympic

⁸ Hoberman, J. 'Toward a Theory of Olympic Internationalism' in, *Journal of Sports History* Vol.22 (Spring 1995) pp.1-37

⁹ Jarvie, G. and Maguire, J. *Sport and Leisure in Social Thought* (London 1994) p.6

¹⁰ Ibid p.109

¹¹ Ibid p.126

¹² Ibid pp.130-131

example, can account for many of the difficulties experienced by the Olympic authorities over the last century. These approaches influenced the type of analysis that would provide the most revealing conclusions related to increasing image management within Olympic structures. In terms of the extension of sociological debate, other theoretical positions were considered before being discounted as of limited use to the focus of this thesis. Among these theoretical positions which remain important for future debate are: Interpretative Sociology, Conventional Pluralism, Postmodernist Sociology, Dependency and Globalisation as well as Bourdieu's application of the concepts of habitus and distinction.¹³

As implied within the application of theoretical pluralism and considering how different perspectives co-exist and interact, it is possible to place the focus too readily upon the subject of the multiple lenses in this case the Olympic Movement. Nevertheless, the strength of theoretical pluralism is to allow examination of that same subject by a variety of seemingly disparate positions from a number of different disciplines. In this case the method has facilitated an examination of the Olympic authorities and their composite organisations, by expanding the analysis to consider the complex and varied operations, as well as the numerous other external factors which influence the Olympic dynamic. The apparent tension between the hegemonic perspective of Gramsci, and the passive teleology associated with functionalism illustrates the difficulties associated with an analysis that uses multiple lenses. Hegemonic theory seeks to understand how ruling groups in a capitalist society maintain their power by indirect rather than direct (economic or military) means. This is done by the creation of a culture that is shared by all, but which favours one class over another.¹⁴ It should be noted that hegemony is not an artificial contrivance and that it operates in support of the status quo.¹⁵ Accordingly, sport can be viewed as an apparatus that is responsible for diffusing ideas that complement and encourage consensus.¹⁶

¹³ A good starting point for an evaluation of these theoretical perspectives is, Jarvie, G. and Maguire J. Sport and Leisure in Social Thought. (London 1994)

¹⁴ Cashmore, E. Making Sense of Sports (London 2000) p.97

¹⁵ Ibid p.97

A functionalist approach suggests that people occupy different positions according to their suitability thereby meeting a society's need to place appropriate people in functionally important but differently rewarded positions. The theory relates to the notion that social facts constrain social actors with sport becoming an apparatus by which to maintain the larger society. This approach has been widely criticised as it neglects the nature of power and privilege, and the capacity of powerful social actors to mould society in their own image. However, the weakness inherent within functionalist sociology related to its lack of a solid and clear structural element, provides a useful, if pragmatic lens by which to conceptualise the Olympic philosophy. The application of hegemonic theory and human agency to class stratification places the conflict relation between classes at the centre of its concerns.¹⁷ While functionalists recognise the complexity of class groupings in certain historical circumstances, for hegemonic theorists it is the nature of the economically derived conflict and division between the main social classes that is stressed.¹⁸ It is clear that the hegemonic model provides an exhaustive and useful lens, and the malleable character of functionalism seems to be especially relevant for this analysis of the Olympic example.

It is clear that there are few studies that actually concentrate upon an analysis of public relations, especially when this is coupled with an examination of the internal dynamics of sport - in this case the primary Olympic organisations. Moreover, when taking an analytical approach to the development of public relations in conjunction with basic concepts drawn from the tradition of strategic management, sport would not seem to be the most natural subject to be under consideration. In fact, the discipline that has the longest association with public relations practice is politics and international relations. It is necessary, therefore, to briefly examine the interaction between politicians and the media, in terms of the development of public relations. It is expected that this will provide further insights into this inherently vague area related to how information is disseminated. The other sources examined to provide a context for this process were American and British newspapers, official Olympic broadcasts and documentaries,

¹⁶ Ibid pp.96-97

¹⁷ Morgan, W. Leftist Theories of Sport (Urbana 1994) p.68

¹⁸ Horne, J. Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Understanding Sport (London 1999) p.103

official and unofficial Internet sites (especially the Media History Project website) as well as public relations and propaganda information from international media agencies.¹⁹

(e) Methodological Considerations.

This has largely been a primary-sourced and archive based research project that includes relevant documentation gathered from a number of international institutions, libraries and museums. The basing of the analytical approach within the realm of theoretical pluralism, and the associated use of multiple lenses, has allowed a certain degree of leeway for the continuing appraisal of Olympic organisation and practice over the duration of the research process. It has also allowed the interdisciplinary nature of the thesis to be developed. The tradition of theoretical pluralism can best be illuminated by considering the position of Bowman, who argued that theoretical pluralism was necessary for the development of the field of strategic management. Others have convincingly demonstrated how to frame a given problem using alternative conceptual lenses.²⁰ In this pluralistic and multi-lectic spirit,²¹ it is relevant to take note of Bowman's suggestion that the process of dialogue, intellectual exchange and argument should be used to advance the field.²² This thesis will attempt to assess those critical ideas and issues that shape and frame the challenge of image management.

Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s a new approach - established by behavioural and social scientists - was developed within strategic management. The focus was firmly placed upon the functioning and survival of the organisation and the behaviour of its people, as well as inter and intra-organisational networks that they adopt.²³ Essentially, the tradition of theoretical pluralism borrows both concepts and theories from other disciplines. It evolves concepts and frameworks based on changes in

¹⁹ For example, see: <http://www.sportquest.com/iasl/> International Association for Sports Information (IASI) at also Freedom Forum, Lancaster Gate, London

²⁰ Bowman, E., Singh, H., and Thomas, H. in, Pettigrew, A., Thomas H., and Whittington, R. (Eds) The Handbook of Strategy and Management (Oxford 2001). p.2

²¹ Huff, A 'Industry influences on strategy formulation' in, Strategic Management Journal (Vol.3, 1982) pp.55-75

²² Bowman, E., Singh, H., and Thomas H. in, Pettigrew, A., Thomas, H., and Whittington, R. (Eds) The Handbook of Strategy and Management (Oxford 2001). p.3

²³ Ibid p.4

management style and practice.²⁴ Another key element drawn from the strategic management tradition relates to competitive advantage, and especially, in terms of this thesis, how organisations react when exposed to the vagaries of the marketplace.²⁵ All of these have relevance for the study of the delivery of an Olympic image. Each of these perspectives provides a unique set of theoretical insights. So far there has not been sufficient success in applying both of the approaches to the particular problem highlighted here.

Historically, in much of the serious study of the Olympic Games, the situation and experiences of athletes at the Olympic Games have been increasingly sidelined. Attempts will be made to rectify this wherever possible within this thesis and examples of athletes' experiences will be included wherever relevant for illustration purposes. The role of athletes and participants at an Olympic Games is often overlooked which is somewhat surprising given the importance of these groups to the success of the events. The particular emphasis taken stresses the organisational dynamic of the Olympic movement related to the need for maintaining information-management and control. The role of all those main actors and groupings that comprise the Olympic movement and contribute to the staging of a successful Olympic Games are therefore worthy of consideration. This introductory chapter now establishes the definitions used and assumptions made.

(iii) Definitions of key terms.

The following is an attempt to provide a set of definitions upon which the conceptual framework for the area of study outlined in the thesis can be established and this therefore provides a point of reference for the theoretical analysis.²⁶ While the following definitions suggest an initial indication as to the key terms and assumptions made, the reappraisal of their meaning is ongoing within the development of the thesis.

²⁴ Ibid p.5

²⁵ Ibid p.36

²⁶ As N.Chomsky so eloquently stated: "History does not come neatly packaged into distinct periods, but by imposing such a structure upon it, we can sometimes gain clarity without doing too much violence to the facts." *Deterring Democracy* (London 1992) p.1

Ancient Olympics – This refers to the Greek tradition of military-based games of the period in antiquity beginning in 776 BC, and practised throughout the Greek world. Nowadays, this period enjoys a highly idealised image within official Olympic channels in particular.

Modern Olympics – The quadrennial festivals of ancient Greece were revived in a modern context at the end of the nineteenth century by European aristocrats, led by the Frenchman, Baron Pierre de Coubertin. Throughout this thesis reference will be made to both the Summer and Winter Olympic Games, although for the most part my analysis will concentrate upon the experiences of the Summer Olympic Games. It is clear that they required more obvious management by the Olympic movement on a global scale, due to the wider spread of the potential audience.

Winter Olympic Games - The winter version of the quadrennial sports festival. First celebrated at Chamonix, France in 1924, in the same year as the Paris Summer Olympic Games. Until 1992, they had been held in the same year as the summer games, but this changed after the Albertville Olympics. Thereafter the schedule was amended so that the Summer and Winter festivals alternated in two-yearly intervals.²⁷

Olympic Movement – The actual organisational structure of the Olympic authorities as well as the generic term used to describe them. The main component parts are the IOC, the ISFs, and the NOCs. The athletes and the media comprise the wider Olympic movement, yet have no direct influence upon Olympic policy-making.

Olympiad - a Greek measure of time equating to four years, each of which was marked by the celebration of the ancient Games at Olympia. In more current usage it refers to the period of time between modern Olympic Games.²⁸

Continental or Regional Games - These are ‘branch Games’ organised by the NOCs or the ISFs, and in most cases involving both. (IAAF, PASO, ANOCA, USOC etc.) Sports are therefore now staged on a regional basis, which developed events and in turn, opportunities to maximise revenues. They are usually scheduled in order to

²⁷ The Winter Olympic Games were moved from being held in the same year after 1992, so that they were now held on a biennial basis. This was partly as a response to the growing size of the summer Games and the associated issue of manageability, yet at the same time, this move effectively doubled the number of Olympic Games in terms of sponsorship and revenue generation.

²⁸ The Olympic Games are officially referred to as: ‘The Games of the ... Olympiad’, for example XXVth Olympiad, in Atlanta 1996.

capitalise on their position in the sporting calendar, for example in a non-Olympic year. On occasion these can double up as Olympic qualifying events.

Olympism - The official philosophy of the Olympic movement, utilised proactively by the organisation for the purpose of educating future generations, promoting the Olympic ideals and preserving the ideological status quo.

Ownership of Symbols - This specifically refers to the legal position enjoyed by the IOC as the official owner of the Olympic symbols, logos and intellectual property. These rights are closely guarded as they are the key to the exclusive sponsorship and marketing deals from which the Olympic authorities obtain a large proportion of their organisational revenues.

(The Olympic Games) Bidding Process – Originally very haphazard and disorganised with little established practice, nowadays this refers to the scramble, by potential bidding cities, to lobby members of the IOC for their votes. It is the IOC members who eventually decide upon the site of the next Olympic Games. This process can begin up to ten years before the projected staging of the Games takes place. For many world cities the culmination of their societal efforts is an attempt to host the Olympic Games. However, recent disclosures about the reality of Olympic practice have damaged the credibility of the whole bidding process as well as the wider Olympic movement.

Undoubtedly, there are also a myriad of other, broader factors that affect the character of both the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games, and it is envisaged that each will be referred to in due course when relevant.

Cultural Change – This refers to the ongoing process of adaptation and adoption of internal as well as other, external values and behaviours at a societal level. It is a similar process to cultural blending. However, in this case it concentrates on the particular experiences of how societies and organisations have affected the Olympic movement and its complex dynamics.

Strategic Management – From the field of business and management thinking, this examines management practices and the internal processes within the specific structure of an organisation and how these interact to provide that organisation with its aims, attributes and unique operational systems.

Public Relations - The primarily political measures taken by press officers in order to affect the tone and emphasis of official comment. These practices developed as a requirement of the propaganda and public-information initiatives in the early part of the twentieth century. By the time of the escalating political tension during the Cold War official information was tightly controlled and managed by both sides. Later on in the 1960s, this form of information control became an influential determinant of policy-making, from the political and entertainment spheres. It was soon used to develop marketing strategies, to maximise business opportunities and latterly, for crisis management. It is this more recent era that saw the evolution of the term spin-doctor.

Sporting Image – This refers to a particular projection of a sporting image. While it is possible to convey an image via written reports, the sporting image refers primarily to the visual. This includes the photographic, but increasingly video and digital image. This often takes the form of a glamourised version of the Olympic athlete or competitor. However, the actual process of projection and reception of an image makes for a more subtle yet complex distinction. Implicit within this term is the related public-relations issue of freedom of access to information, and the official policy on media accreditation and control.²⁹ In recent times the IOC has sought to establish control over new media forms in order to develop an inclusive relationship to new technology.³⁰ These should be seen as steps taken by the IOC to protect the Olympic image.

Amateurism – A fundamental Olympic principle that is now outmoded and largely discarded by official comment in almost every sense, except for the favourable philosophical association with its image of ‘purity’ and ‘lofty’ ideals. This is a traditional sporting philosophy, whereby competitors are unpaid for their efforts and compete for the love of their sport. It was removed from the Olympic charter in 1972, soon after the transition from Avery Brundage to Lord Killanin as IOC president. However, elements of the philosophy remain, within the values associated with Olympism.

Commercialism – This details the more recent shift towards an acceptance and use of the capitalist, market-based principles at the organisational level of the Olympic

²⁹ Does every media organisation get equal access to the official image? The Olympic movement is very careful that the delivery system is in keeping with their perception of the image and how that is to be portrayed.

³⁰ Wheatly K. ‘IOC Profits from Tangled Web’, in The Times 8/2/1998

sporting contest. Differing internal agendas have meant that the Olympic movement and its related dynamic have not effectively dealt with this gradual process of incorporating a more commercial emphasis. Nevertheless, over the past fifty years this has undoubtedly been of huge financial benefit to the Olympic authorities. Payment to Olympic participants is another issue that has largely been avoided by Olympic policy-makers, rather than being effectively managed. The link to the previous definition of Amateurism is evident. It is sufficient for the Olympic movement that no athlete is paid to compete while at an Olympic Games. This is an important distinction, as the offer of endorsements come flooding in following victory at an Olympic Games.

Television Rights – The process of selling the contract for the rights to televise the Olympic events stems from the need to diversify revenues and establish good practice as a result of the disputes prior to the Melbourne Olympics of 1956. Since 1968 in Mexico City, this has become an increasingly important part of the revenue stream for the Olympic movement. Invariably these broadcast rights carry strict IOC regulations, mainly dealing with the form of image and content. The revenue generated for the Olympic movement by the sale of broadcasting rights to the United States, Japan and the European Union are now a vital revenue stream. Clearly this ability of the media and in particular television, to act as a promotional tool for the Olympic Games is directly linked to the desirability of the Olympic sporting image.

Doping – The use of banned performance-enhancing substances, and ethically questionable medical techniques, by athletes and competitors in Olympic competition. Such extreme practices raise further questions related to the relevancy of amateurism, the Olympic philosophy of Olympism, the state of fair-play and whether nowadays we are beginning to view the body as some kind of faulty machine.³¹ The broader anachronisms that exist within Olympic structures are more evident under this analysis. Indeed, a particular doping episode at whatever level of Olympic competition is diametrically opposed to the Olympic ideals and the positive ethical image being nurtured for the benefit of sponsors and advertisers.

³¹ Hoberman J. *Mortal Engines: The Science of Performance and the Dehumanisation of sport* (New York 1992) pp.124-6 and Parry J. 'Ethical Aspects of the Olympic Ideal' *Conference Paper at the 3rd IOA Session for Educationalists and Staff of Higher Institutes of Physical Education*, Session Proceedings (Olympia, June 1997)

Gigantism – This refers to the unfettered and increasingly unmanageable growth of the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games. This could threaten the future of Olympic gatherings as they gradually become a victim of their own success. This is also an issue of pressing concern for the Olympic movement as the organisation seeks to lower the burden on host cities that stage the Olympic Games.

Environmental Factors – as they relate to the unique qualities of each geographical site that seeks to host the Olympic Games. Public protests have accompanied recent moves to counter the type of development associated with an Olympic Games. An example of this sort of protest can be best illustrated by the North American and Canadian experience of vociferous and powerful opposition to unplanned development in the proposed staging of the Winter Olympic Games in particular. The crucial question remains what are the implications for a particular locale and its people when the Games have moved on?

Sponsors – Those business and commercial interests who use the Olympic Games as a medium for advertising and promoting their particular goods or services. In recent times these have had more official control exerted over them via the establishment of various Olympic-marketing initiatives, the most lucrative of which is The Olympic Programme (TOP). The ability of the official programme to differentiate between products as well as offering different levels of financial support expected from sponsors has been an important element of its success to date.

Media – At this stage it is sufficient to view the media as comprising all those ways of projecting and transmitting comment, including matters of national importance and items of other interest. A fuller and more specific definition is developed in Chapter 4, in the context of how the various media forms have affected the social dynamic as they have become accepted aspects of daily life. Notably, the five affiliated international Media partners of the IOC are: AFP, AP, UPI, Reuters and Tass.

It is clear that a number of problematic historical events related to the circumventing of the Olympic ideal mentioned within the following chapters have been covered elsewhere. However, this thesis provides a fresh approach drawing together seemingly disparate theoretical strands and practical examples that are given focus by the

use of the multiple lens approach associated with theoretical pluralism. Wherever appropriate, the approach taken will acknowledge the relevancy of such events and specifically how they have presented challenges for the Olympic organisations. While the media's relationship with the Olympic phenomenon will be examined in due course, it is necessary to put into context the link between the media and image projection here as this remains an undercurrent of the thesis. By now considering the Olympic Games revival process it is possible to establish the initial development of Olympism as the philosophy that underpins the movement's operational tasks. It is with this in mind that the historical appraisal now turns to consider the background and development of the Olympic movement up to the outbreak of the Second World War.

Chapter 1

THE RISE, FALL AND CULTIVATION OF OLYMPIC TRADITION.

In order to establish the background to the period under consideration in later chapters, it is necessary here to briefly consider the formation of the IOC (International Olympic Committee) and the development of the fledgling Olympic movement. This chapter will therefore examine the historical background for the purpose of establishing a context for subsequent analyses. By initially considering the rationale behind the festivals of the ancient Olympic Games it will be possible to identify the reasons for their eventual decline. By concentrating upon the revivalist movement in nineteenth century Europe and the wider motives of the founders of the IOC, it will be possible to identify how - even at this stage - there was a process of selection and invention within Olympic organisations regarding the meaning and practical use of Olympism. After a brief examination of the Olympic festivals during the opening decades of the twentieth century, it will then be possible to analyse in greater depth the Berlin Olympic Games of 1936. This particular Olympic gathering is especially significant in the context of this dissertation since the intrusion of political and propaganda aspects upon the staging of the Games reached a previously unprecedented level. In fact, it will be proposed that the 1936 Olympic festival was, in terms of this thesis, crucial in determining the character of the Olympic Games related to the relationship between the Olympic movement and the media in the immediate post Second World War period.

(i) The Olympic Tradition.

The ancient Olympic Games were an exclusively Greek invention, rooted firmly in the traditions and culture of their civilisation. The first recorded gathering for the Olympic Games was in Olympia in 776 BC.³² In fact the festivals of Olympia were only one of a number of gatherings which began to flourish after 582 BC. Many of the larger Greek city-states held their own versions. These included the Pythian Games at Delphi, the Isthmian Games at Corinth and soon after the Nemean Games were also introduced.³³

³² Carter, A. The Olympic Glory that was Greece (Attikis 1996) p.59

³³ USOC, Olympism: A Guide to History, Ideals and Sports of the Olympic Movement (Colorado Springs 1996) p.20

Although there were many such festivals held, those at Olympia were consistently the largest and most popular. As the importance of the festivals grew, participants from more distant city-states converged on the proceedings. Despite the Games flourishing and increasing in importance, this period in history was characterised by infighting and wars within Greece brought on by internal disputes between the city-states. As a concession to the increasing spiritual emphasis of the Olympic Games, legislators agreed to adhere to a cessation of hostilities, thereby allowing participants safe passage to the site of the games. This lasted for the duration of the Olympic Games, and became known as the Olympic Truce.³⁴ Part-time, occasional athletes from the immediate locale primarily contested the first Olympian Games.³⁵ Over time, however, the events began to be gradually dominated by men of wealth or those in the military as they had more time to train, as well as access to funds which allowed them to compete on an almost professional basis.³⁶

Among the many Greek festivals, it was only the Olympic Games that did not offer monetary prizes for victorious athletes. Despite the more conservative governing of the festivals at Olympia certain honours could be bestowed on Olympic champions which included being immortalised in song, poetry and stories. As well as these rewards, the victors were given pensions, and other financial rewards, usually provided by an athlete's home city or a wealthy local philanthropist.³⁷ This example of a far from level playing field again manifested itself when women began to seek participation. The conservative traditions associated with the gatherings at Olympia had resisted the admission of women as both competitors and even spectators. However, within ancient Greek society women were encouraged to participate in other physical recreations. This was primarily due to the prevailing notion that athletic and physically fit women would be able to bear athletic and muscular sons.³⁸

³⁴ Coote, J. The History of the Olympics in Pictures (London 1976) p.9. The Olympic Truce has been adapted by the IOC for the modern Olympic festivals, with limited success.

³⁵ USOC, Olympism p.20

³⁶ Ibid p.20. The similarity with the post-war status of elite international athletes is obvious.

³⁷ Ibid p.21

³⁸ Hargreaves J, in Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. (Eds) Five Ring Circus: Money, Power and Politics at

Religion, art, education, athleticism and the aesthetics of the human body were extremely important at all of these ancient Greek events.³⁹ Consequently, the link between philosophy and the Olympic Games was established at an early stage, with many of the Greek thinkers of the time emphasising the concept of body, mind and spirit as being inseparable aspects of the development of the whole person.⁴⁰ Victory at these early festivals, although deemed important, was seen as secondary to the manner in which it was achieved. These qualities were later brought together to form part of the philosophy of Olympism.⁴¹ It is interesting to note that the ancient Olympic Games did not enjoy unbridled popularity and growth. In fact important insights into the organisational and developmental aspects of such festivals can be gained by examining how the demise of the ancient Olympic Games came about.

The Games at Olympia reached a peak around 525 BC with their decline taking place due to significant political developments over the following millennium.⁴² In 146 BC, following the Roman conquest of Greece, the festivals were moved to Rome and placed under the rule of the Roman Emperor.⁴³ The philosophical and ethical emphases of the gatherings became of less importance, as the entertainment aspects of the events were accentuated. For the Romans, the Olympic Games were now seen as simply another occasion to amuse the audience, alongside chariot races and gladiatorial contests. Soon afterwards, it is recorded that, on occasion, money began to change hands between participants in order that their opponents would concede victory.⁴⁴ As these practices directly affected the purity of the Greek traditions of past Olympic festivals, there followed a clear departure from their historical and religious origins. Subsequently, with the rise of early Christianity, and its resistance to the glorification of the human body, the final blow was dealt to the ancient Olympic Games. In fact even celebrating the Greek gods was now viewed as tantamount to paganism, with the associated perceptions of brutality, immorality and corruption. Although the athletic festivals were initially banned

the Olympic Games (London 1984) p.54

³⁹ Ibid p.53

⁴⁰ USOC, Olympism p.2

⁴¹ Ibid p.21

⁴² Ibid p.1

⁴³ Coote, J. The History of the Olympics p.9

by Christian Emperor Theodosius I in 393 AD, it was not until the law was later enforced in 529 AD that they finally ceased.⁴⁵ A little over thirteen hundred years of such gatherings had left a historical legacy waiting for the world to rediscover.

From this brief synopsis of the ancient Olympic Games, it is clear that there are a number of practices and ideals that did not fit comfortably with those in the revivalist movement during the late nineteenth century. It is also obvious that at some point a process of selection would have to take place regarding the emphasis placed on the particular revivalist values and ideals. Certain traditions could be retained, yet some would undoubtedly have to be discarded. With the decline of the Greek civilisation, the site of the ancient Games at Olympia had been plundered and looted for anything of use or value. It was not until the rediscovery of the site in the 1700s and the subsequent excavation of it in 1874, that the true magnificence of these festivals was revealed to an excited and expectant world.⁴⁶ That the festivals would eventually be revived, was not so much a question of 'if', but 'when' and as importantly, 'how?' Ultimately the revival movement prospered due to the influence and perseverance of a handful of classically educated, philanthropic Europeans during the late nineteenth century.

(ii) Movements towards an Olympic Revival

In the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there are isolated examples of Olympian Games and 'Olympick' Festivals throughout Europe.⁴⁷ The majority of these gatherings were characterised by somewhat haphazard organisation and were often held at irregular intervals. In Greece, during the mid-nineteenth century there were distinct examples of prominent individuals attempting to revive the Olympic festivals of antiquity. One of the best-organised and subsequently influential festivals, was the primarily Greek 'Zappas Olympics', so called as a wealthy Greek businessman, Evangelis Zappas, effectively financed them. These gatherings were Panhellenic in

⁴⁴ USOC, Olympism p.22

⁴⁵ Ibid p.23

⁴⁶ Young, D. The Modern Olympics: A Struggle for Revival (London 1996) pp.1-2 and pp. 4-6. The important roles played by Soutsos - a Greek Poet of the early nineteenth century - and W.P. Brookes - an English landowner of the mid-nineteenth century - in establishing the basis of modern Olympic ideals are well detailed here.

nature, therefore no foreign competitors were allowed to participate. Furthermore, they lacked a clearly defined structure or a system of regularity of celebration. Despite the games being staged on a number of occasions, these events remained parochial, primarily Greek contests.⁴⁸ The first concerted effort outside Greece to revive the festivals associated with the pageantry and tradition of the ancient Games came about through the initiative of an English landowner, Dr William Penny Brookes. He established his Olympian Society at Much Wenlock, Shropshire in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁹ These annual gatherings were as much about celebrating local traditions as ancient Greek ones. However, such levels of pageantry and ceremony were almost unique at this time. Although Brookes had begun these gatherings primarily for local people, the word spread and a number of competitors began to come from further afield to take part.⁵⁰ Despite this growing popularity, the competitors were still mainly drawn from the area around central England.

At the time that the popularity of these events began to grow, a young French aristocrat, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, (who was dismayed at the poor physical state of his country's troops during the Franco-Prussian war) sought a means for improving the general fitness and athleticism of his countrymen.⁵¹ After visits to the public schools of the eastern United States and England, Coubertin became greatly influenced by the systems of physical education which he saw in place there. He was especially interested in the methods employed by the Headmaster of Rugby school, Dr. Thomas Arnold.⁵² After lengthy correspondence with Dr. Brookes, Baron de Coubertin decided to pay the Much Wenlock Olympian Society a visit. Immediately struck by the pageantry and ceremony of the event, he began to realise that the celebration of the human being was the ideal starting point for his process of reappraising and transforming the state of his nation's physical culture. He also commented to Dr. Brookes how much the participants seemed to be enjoying the variety of events, whether spectating or competing.

⁴⁷ Coote, J. The History of the Olympics p.12

⁴⁸ Young, D. The Modern Olympics p.13

⁴⁹ Ibid pp.8-9

⁵⁰ Ibid p.10

⁵¹ Tomlinson, A. in Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. (Eds) Five Ring Circus p.87

⁵² Young, D. The Modern Olympics p.69

Dr. Brookes went on to confer the honorary title of ‘Friend of the Olympian Society of Much Wenlock’⁵³ upon Baron de Coubertin, who now began to formulate his own ideas regarding how to revive the ideals associated with the ancient Greek festivals of Olympia. He was convinced that the revival movement had to be based around the need to educate the whole person into a well-rounded individual. Canadian academic and Olympian Bruce Kidd identifies very clearly how Coubertin worked out his reinvention of tradition when he wrote: “Dressing his Games in the image of antiquity proved to be a masterstroke of public relations.”⁵⁴

Whilst there is little doubt that Baron de Coubertin was influenced greatly by the events at Much Wenlock, his ideas began to expand beyond these gatherings and became recognised beyond his nation’s boundaries. It was soon afterwards that he began to lay down his plans for an Olympic Congress, ostensibly to discuss amateurism, (as this issue had become particularly problematic in the late nineteenth century) with only a passing reference to the revival of the ancient Olympic festivals. By convening a meeting in June 1894 in Paris, Baron de Coubertin sought to test the demand for an international festival of sport based around the ancient Greek tradition.⁵⁵ He was sensible enough to realise that there would have to be changes in the form that the festival would take in order to be relevant to the contemporary context. However, this did not stop him from including a definite amount of classical Greek pageantry at the event. It soon became clear that there was an overwhelming desire to see some form of international competition, with the majority of the delegates in favour of reviving the Games. A site was established early on, with the first proposed modern Olympic Games set to take place in Athens in 1896. This site was determined mainly as a tribute to the Greek tradition that Baron de Coubertin had sought to revive.

All that was left now was for there to be an administrative body, created within the wider Olympic movement, which would be able to manage the growth of the Games through future gatherings. This was to be known as the International Olympic Committee

⁵³ Ibid p.27

⁵⁴ Kidd, B. in Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Five Ring Circus p.71

⁵⁵ Tomlinson, A., in Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Five Ring Circus p.91

(IOC). Baron de Coubertin recognised that the organisation needed a group of people who could define general policy and fervently guard the central philosophical concept of Olympism. The IOC's first members were fifteen males all from aristocratic or military backgrounds, drawn from twelve nations, which included Baron Pierre de Coubertin as the driving force.⁵⁶ It was envisaged that the IOC members should be trustees of the Olympic movement, which involved the individual member being an IOC representative to their own country, and importantly not their country's representative to the IOC.⁵⁷ This further served to promote the image of the organisation as being independent of individual national agendas. In addition to the IOC, the Olympic movement gradually developed other organisational authorities. These were as follows. Firstly, the International Sports Federations (ISFs) became responsible for the management and promotion of their respective sports. As new sports were added to the Olympic programme, the size and influence of this arm of the Olympic movement expanded. Secondly, with the growth of international involvement in the Olympic Games, the National Olympic Committees (NOCs), developed and were incorporated into organisational structures due to the need for national organisations to regularly provide athletes for Olympic gatherings. They were also charged with representing the IOC and were delegated by it to promote the Olympic movement within their respective territories. The Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC) later developed into a powerful umbrella organisation within the Olympic movement, as the universal aspects of Olympism and related international policy agendas became increasingly important in the post-Second World War period. Finally but very importantly, there are the participating athletes. While exerting no direct influence over the direction or form of the organisation, their latent power is significant. The IOC views this group as illustrating Olympism in action and therefore considers them to be the lifeblood of the Olympic movement.⁵⁸ Notably they have never been organised in any way remotely similar to the other main groups within the Olympic mix.

⁵⁶ Berlioux, M. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) The Olympic Games (London 1976) p.12

⁵⁷ Ibid p.12

⁵⁸ Ibid p.12. and British Olympic Association Information Pack (London 1996)

The broader structure of the Olympic movement will be analysed in greater depth in the next Chapter. For the moment, it can be stated that the IOC has three main aims:

To ensure the regular celebrations of the Games, to make each gathering increasingly perfect, more worthy of their glorious past and in keeping with the high ideals of those who revived them, to encourage or organise all events and, in general, take all steps likely to lead all athletes along the right lines.⁵⁹

With the organisation of the new Olympic movement in place and an inaugural event at the planning stage, the IOC members began to legislate for the continuance of the Olympic Games along similar lines to the quadrennial festivals of the ancient Greek Olympiads.

(iii) Teething problems at the early Olympic festivals.

Although the Athens Games of 1896 were effectively staged, there were a few significant teething problems in the process of planning the Games. Firstly the Greek government, who were experiencing financial difficulty, refused any monetary commitment to the staging of the Games. This led some observers to call for the abandonment of the festival altogether.⁶⁰ The fact that competitors had to fund their own travel arrangements also excluded a great number of athletes from attending, and the final total of competitors was a meagre 311, from 13 countries.⁶¹ Throughout the period from 1896 to the Stockholm Games of 1912, participation increased. But it was only following the improvements made by host cities, that participation later rose dramatically. The IOC was making slow progress in developing the role of the fledgling Olympic movement, despite receiving general but by no means widespread international support for their efforts. In fact, simply ensuring the celebration of the Olympic Games provided the Olympic authorities with an arduous task.

The Greeks themselves were more enthusiastic and increasingly supported the attempts to stage the games in Athens. Early in 1895, the Hellenic Olympic Committee

⁵⁹ Ibid p.12

⁶⁰ Szymiczek, O. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) *The Olympic Games* p.27

⁶¹ Ibid p.27

was formed and it immediately set about issuing rules for competition and details of what was expected of the sportsmen and officials who would be present.⁶² Public collections were begun in order that Athens would be able to finance the Games. The response was striking, with donations flooding in to the organisers daily and numerous local architects and builders volunteering their assistance in the reconstruction of the ancient venues and arenas.⁶³ The Greek population had particularly welcomed the idea of reviving the Olympic festivals, and they demonstrated this support through the appearance of large audiences at Olympic events. While some results were detailed in the local press, there were very few daily reports of the happenings at the Athens Games that made it into foreign newspapers until long after all the events had been completed.⁶⁴ This was of course due to the lack of a reliable and efficient means of information transfer in 1896. It is unlikely that the gathering would have had much more coverage even if the means of disseminating information had been better, simply because of the fact that so few people had heard of Olympism or experienced an Olympic Games.

Although subsequently regarded as a great success by the Olympic authorities, these first modern Olympic Games were also somewhat haphazard in nature in the sense that a number of the participants represented their country only because of their proximity to the festival in the weeks prior to the event.⁶⁵ The records of the results at this Olympic gathering are incomplete, yet by the close Baron de Coubertin was certain that the place of the Olympic Games as an important international event was assured. The revival of Greek tradition had captured the imagination of the participants and local population to such an extent that many of the early problems were easily forgotten. It was with renewed vigour that he and his colleagues set about organising the success of subsequent Olympic festivals.

The proposal to stage the next Olympic Games in Paris was met with dissension from two very different areas. The Greek government (supported by the United States

⁶² Ibid p.27

⁶³ Coote J. - The History of the Olympics p.13

⁶⁴ Hill C. - Olympic Politics pp.24-5

⁶⁵ Tomlinson A., in Tomlinson A. and Whannel, G. - Five Ring Circus p.94

athletic authorities) was motivated by a desire to see Athens as the sole and permanent site for the Olympic Games.⁶⁶ The French sports authorities, however, saw the IOC as a direct threat to their position as the governing body of French sport.⁶⁷ At this stage Baron de Coubertin made a fundamental error from which the fledgling Olympic movement almost did not recover. He decided that it would be prudent to attach the Olympic Games to the Paris Exposition and despite Coubertin's best diplomatic efforts, one problem arose after another. The troubled background to the Paris Olympics meant that the festival itself was chaotic despite the numerous offers of support from local aristocrats and landowners to stage events. Eventually, the IOC reverted back to its plan drawn up in 1898, previously considered by Olympic administrators as inadequate.⁶⁸ It was indeed fortunate that any sporting events took place at all. Although competition did occur the proceedings were far from satisfactory. In fact, Baron de Coubertin concluded that: "There was much goodwill but the interesting results had nothing Olympic about them. We have made a hash of our work."⁶⁹ And he was to state afterwards that: "It's a miracle that the Olympic movement survived that celebration!"⁷⁰

An interesting legacy of the Paris event of 1900 was that the first women competed in the Olympics, despite the IOC having previously discouraged them from doing so. Although their participation was limited to tennis and golf, women had made their mark on these early Olympic gatherings. As regards the later development of this thesis, it is significant that few if any of the events at these early Olympic Games were widely reported in the press. This was, in part due to the confusion surrounding the organisation of the sporting events in Paris as well as the significant structural problems encountered by the Olympic movement. It is clear, however, that the relatively primitive state of communications technology during this period also contributed to a general lack of press coverage. The peripheral nature of the Olympic festival to the other events held in Paris, is illustrated by some of the athletes being unaware that they had taken part in an

⁶⁶ Hill, C. Olympic Politics p.27

⁶⁷ Guttmann, A. The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games (Urbana 1994) p.21

⁶⁸ Meyer, G. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) The Olympic Games p.46

⁶⁹ Ibid p.47

⁷⁰ Ibid p.45

Olympics.⁷¹ Indeed it was going to require a definite effort from the Olympic movement to get their message across.

It had been agreed at the first Olympic Congress that the United States should have the opportunity to host the Games of the third Olympiad. The sporting authorities in the United States favoured Chicago as the site for the Olympic Games of 1904. However, the threat of direct competition from the athletics programme at the World Fair in St.Louis forced the IOC and the athletic authorities to reappraise the situation. After much internal wrangling within the United States over the site, President Theodore Roosevelt decided upon St.Louis even though it would coincide with the World Fair in that city in the same year.⁷² This had been agreed to by the IOC, despite the difficulties experienced when coupling the Olympic Games with the Paris Universal Exposition four years earlier. The first problem encountered by the authorities was the logistical difficulty experienced by many athletes as they travelled to St. Louis. This meant that there was a very disappointing attendance in terms of the spread of participating nations and athletes, with only 92 competitors arriving from foreign countries.⁷³ In such a scenario the Olympic Games became little more than an extended American national championships. Although the athletics were well attended, this was significantly below the level of attendance at the first Olympic Games in Athens.

Baron de Coubertin did not attend this gathering although the reason for this is unclear. The IOC delegate to Hungary, Ferenc Kemeny, reported back to him on the events. Kemeny's report emphasised the fine organisation, well-arranged grounds and respectable performances of the athletes. Yet there were structural issues that arose such as poor attendance and a complete misunderstanding of the Olympic spirit. He concluded that: "I was not only present at a sporting contest, but also at a fair where there were sports, where there was cheating, where monsters were exhibited for a joke."⁷⁴

⁷¹ Wallechinsky, D. The Complete book of the Olympics (London 1996). Introduction p.xvi

⁷² Meyer, G. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) - The Olympic Games p.50

⁷³ Ibid p.50

⁷⁴ Guttmann, A. The Olympics pp.25-6

Infamously, the American Thomas Hicks won the Marathon despite his being the first widely documented case of substance abuse at the Olympics. He had been given a strychnine and cognac concoction during the race to enhance his performance, although it should be stressed that no official protest was made.⁷⁵ The official reaction can be explained by there being a lack of a clear policy regarding this aspect of sporting administration. Coubertin made excuses for the Americans, whom he viewed as seeking sensation rather than the development of noble ideals and sport through the Olympic spirit.⁷⁶ It is clear from events that this festival was more akin to the later Roman traditions than those of the ancient Greece.

By the opening of the next Olympic Congress, held in London, Rome had been awarded the right to stage the Olympic Games. Desperate to take the development of the Olympic Movement on a stage further, Baron de Coubertin gave his qualified support to an athletics meeting in Athens in 1906. This was staged by the Greeks in protest at the IOC for removing the Olympic Games from what they saw as their spiritual home. They were to become known as the ‘ Intercalary Games.’⁷⁷ They allowed Coubertin to draw together the Olympic family whilst also attempting to reset the values and motives of the Olympic movement into a more traditionally Greek framework. Despite the Intercalary Games being somewhat short on both events and participants, the aims and fortunes of the Olympic movement were repositioned firmly within the Greek context as far as Coubertin was concerned. It was also during these Games that the Italians made it clear that they would be unable to host the 1908 festival after all. The IOC then awarded the Olympic Games to London, as the newly formed British Olympic Association had already made plans to stage the Games at a future date.⁷⁸

After the enthusiasm of Athens, the disappointment of Paris and the farce of St. Louis, it was hoped that London would bring more stability and confidence to the Olympic Games, as well as restore the dignity and credibility of the Olympic

⁷⁵ Meyer, G. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. The Olympic Games p.53

⁷⁶ Ibid p.54

⁷⁷ Young, D. The Modern Olympics p.166, see also Hill, C. Olympic Politics, p. 27

⁷⁸ Guttmann, A The Olympics p.29

movement.⁷⁹ These Games were also to provide a stage for the expansion of women's involvement. Gymnastics, archery and limited opportunities in yachting were included in the programme.⁸⁰ Ice-skating became the first winter sport to be held at the Olympic Games although it was to be some time before a separate winter gathering was introduced. Initially the attendance at London 1908 was poor, but as the event began to be covered more widely in the domestic press, interest grew in both the sporting events themselves and the message encompassing the festival.⁸¹

Despite its notable successes and generally excellent organisation, the London Games were marred by charges of unsportsmanlike conduct and cheating. Although the accusations were for the most part true, American antagonism certainly added fuel to the fire.⁸² These charges of cheating were levelled at the British judges by the Americans due to what they viewed as too many 'hometown' decisions. The most notable controversy occurred in the 400 metres. At the final bend the two Americans, who were running alongside the British favourite Hallswell, split apart with one of the Americans forcing Hallswell to run wide in order to avoid the line that the American had taken. Hallswell finished second. As this meant that he had effectively run farther because of the Americans' actions, it was deemed by many in the crowd to have been unsportsmanlike conduct. (Interestingly, at this stage in the development of the Olympic Games, the races were not yet run in lanes.) The organisers decided that the race should be re-run. However, the Americans who, according to Matthews,⁸³ were more familiar with this kind of practice in their athletic meetings, refused to appear for the re-run. Hallswell won the rescheduled race. As the only competitor he duly took the gold medal.⁸⁴ As the bitterness and recriminations grew, the Americans threatened to break off sporting links, expressing doubts over the future viability of the Olympic movement.⁸⁵ Thankfully, this situation did not last long with both sides coming together to resolve the existing

⁷⁹ Rodda, J. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) - *The Olympic Games* p.37

⁸⁰ Duncanson, N. and Collins, P. *Tales of Gold* (London 1992) p.146 and p.170

⁸¹ Rodda, J. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) - *The Olympic Games* p.37

⁸² Matthews, G., 'The Controversial Olympic Games of 1908 As Viewed by the New York Times and The Times of London', in *Journal of Sports History* Vol.7 Summer 1980 p.52

⁸³ Ibid p.52

⁸⁴ Ibid pp.48-9

⁸⁵ Ibid p.50

tensions, despite the unhelpful jingoistic attitude of the American press in particular.

The London Games were notable for other reasons as well. The IOC introduced gold medals for first place, thereby rewarding the first three finishers in each event where previously there had only been silver for first and bronze for second.⁸⁶ Certain organisational changes were also agreed upon as a result of the experience of the London Games. Impartial judges were to be used at all future gatherings and the International Sports Federations (ISFs) were to be placed in charge of managing the specific Olympic events related to their sports.⁸⁷ Restrictions were also planned on the number of competitors that each country could enter for a given event since the growth in affiliated nations highlighted issues over the future management of the size of the Olympic Games.⁸⁸ Although London cannot be described as trouble-free, the festival was vital in terms of re-establishing the direction of both the Olympic Games and the wider Olympic movement. The level of interest generated by press reports reached previously unprecedented levels.⁸⁹ This is a process that was to continue at each subsequent Olympic gathering. It is also clear that with each Olympic Games staged, the Olympic movement was learning from both the mistakes made and successes enjoyed by previous organisers, so that gradually the event was becoming increasingly more competent in almost every operational aspect.

Stockholm in 1912 had certainly learnt a lot from London four years earlier, especially regarding how best to organise the growing diversity of events and national cultures represented at the festival. These games proved to be everything that Coubertin had hoped for when he went about reviving the Olympic Games, specifically as an international festival of sporting friendship and goodwill.⁹⁰ The Olympic movement had begun to gain a tremendous momentum and in almost every sport significant advances were made in terms of athletic performances. In addition to the controversy surrounding

⁸⁶ Rodda, J. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) The Olympic Games p.37

⁸⁷ Matthews, G. 'The Controversial Olympic Games of 1908...' in Journal of Sport History p.52

⁸⁸ Ibid p.53

⁸⁹ Rodda, J. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) The Olympic Games p.37

⁹⁰ Noel-Baker, P. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) The Olympic Games p.40

the amateur status of American Jim Thorpe,⁹¹ nothing had been seen on an international stage quite like the athletics events in Stockholm.⁹² With the further expansion of women's demonstration events and the introduction of photo-finish equipment, Stockholm was a crucial gathering in the history of the Olympic Games. In fact it was Baron de Coubertin who detailed how he was; "...enchanted by the success of the Olympic Games of the fifth Olympiad."⁹³

The IOC, at the behest of Baron de Coubertin, sought to avoid the war that was looming in Europe by the award of the 1916 event to Berlin in an attempt to placate Kaiser Wilhelm.⁹⁴ As was borne out by events, Coubertin's hopes were dashed when the First World War began in the summer of 1914. It was not initially clear how long the conflict would last, and therefore whether the Games scheduled for Berlin should be cancelled. Ultimately, the length of the War dealt a blow to the Olympic movement and also cut deep into Olympic loyalties. Some members of the IOC were now on opposing sides in the war that stretched the organisation to breaking point. Despite the infighting and the loss of some members through resignation, Baron de Coubertin took a significant step towards securing the future of the organisation. He moved the headquarters of the IOC to the city of Lausanne, in neutral Switzerland, where it remains to this day.⁹⁵ This move of address seemed insignificant at the time, but importantly it allowed the IOC to at least appear to be outside the realms of political and military interference.

(iv) The Movement gathers momentum.

Antwerp in 1920 was a devastated city, and the staging of the Games proved to be a heavy burden on war-ravaged Belgium. The organisation and staging of such an event in the aftermath of such a bloody conflict was always going to prove difficult, yet by the beginning of the Games a tremendous feeling of relief existed as the wasted years of battle were placed firmly in the past. The Belgian crowd as well as the world's press

⁹¹ He was deemed to be a professional after having received a nominal payment for participating in a baseball game a few years prior to Stockholm. Guttmann, A. *The Olympics* p.34

⁹² Noel Baker, P. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) *The Olympic Games* p.41

⁹³ Ibid p.43

⁹⁴ Rodda, J. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) *The Olympic Games* p.44

⁹⁵ Ibid p.44

joined in this consensus of friendship and goodwill. In terms of the psychological healing process and the recovery from the devastation of the First World War, these Games were vital.⁹⁶ They also demonstrated the growing strength and, as importantly, the resilience of the Olympic movement. It was Baron de Coubertin, at the close of the gathering, who described the Games as follows:

These festivals...are above all the festivals of human unity. In an uncomparable synthesis the effort of muscles and mind, mutual help and competition, lofty patriotism and intelligent cosmopolitanism, the personal interest of the champion and the abnegation of the team-member, are bound in a sheaf for a common task.⁹⁷

To all those assembled it was clear that the Olympic movement had not only survived the First World War intact, but it had in the eyes of many observers emerged from the Antwerp celebrations stronger than it had been before. It is unclear to what extent the IOC helped transmit this message to those gathered.⁹⁸ While it is unlikely that they would be able to effectively manage the form that the information took, what is significant at this stage is that these Olympic Games were more widely covered in the world's press than any before. This development was noticeable especially in daily newspapers, which by now had wireless telegraphy as a new, more immediate means of transferring information.⁹⁹ Interestingly, considering the centrality of the bidding process to the later development of this thesis, between 1896 and 1920 inclusive there were no other bids apart from that of the eventual host city.¹⁰⁰

In 1924, Paris became the first city to host the Olympic Games for a second time. Baron de Coubertin had long wanted to end his tenure as IOC President with his home

⁹⁶ Wallechinsky, D. The Complete book of the Olympic Games p.xvii (It is noteworthy that due to their position as the defeated aggressors in the First World War, Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary and Turkey were not invited to participate.)

⁹⁷ Noel-Baker, P. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. The Olympic Games p.80

⁹⁸ Renson, R. The Games Reborn: The VIIIth Olympiad, Antwerp 1920 (Antwerp 1996) p.14 and pp.90-91

⁹⁹ <http://www.mediahistory.com/time/1920s.html> The Media History Project (Although invented almost sixty years previously there had been a lengthy period of development before wireless telegraphy was ready for use in such a setting.)

¹⁰⁰ Du Lange P. The Games Cities Play: The staging of the greatest socio-economic event in the world (Pretoria 1998) p.27

country staging the Games.¹⁰¹ Initially, a lack of finance and inadequate facilities dogged the city's attempts at organising the Games. Notably, the IOC appealed to Los Angeles to make preparations for staging the Games should Paris be unable to do so. As the financial pressure on the Paris organisers eased, the Seine burst its banks flooding large parts of the city. Eventually with significant organisational effort, such logistical problems were overcome and Los Angeles had to put their preparations on hold.¹⁰² Once the events began, the Paris Games were characterised by records of every kind being set. In all, a record number of forty-four nations participated, sending over 3000 competitors.¹⁰³ Paris was the first host city to provide collective accommodation for the athletes. This was subsequently to become central to the Olympic Games experience. Women's participation at the Olympics reached a new level, with competitors taking part in swimming, diving and fencing, although as yet no women's athletic events were held.¹⁰⁴ It is fair to say that women's participation was still clearly limited to a core of events deemed appropriate by the IOC. Nevertheless the festival of 1924 was viewed as a true celebration of Olympism, in that it not only provided a fitting tribute for Baron de Coubertin and his period as guardian of the IOC, but also established the future procedures for the expansion of the Olympic movement itself.

Four years later, the Dutch City of Amsterdam hosted the Olympic Games. The precursor to the 1928 gathering was overshadowed by the news that Baron de Coubertin was too ill to attend. He sent out a call for all participants to:

...strongly and faithfully keep ever alive the flame of the revived Olympic spirit and maintain its necessary principles....The great point is that, everywhere everyone from adolescent to adult, should cultivate and spread the true sporting spirit of spontaneous loyalty and chivalrous impartiality.¹⁰⁵

He continued: "Once again, I beg to thank those who have followed me and helped me to

¹⁰¹ Morgan, V. in. Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. The Olympic Games p.80

¹⁰² Ibid p.80

¹⁰³ Wallechinsky, D. The Complete Book of the Olympic Games introduction p.xvii

¹⁰⁴ Morgan, V. in. Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. The Olympic Games p.48

¹⁰⁵ Noel-Baker, P. in. Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. The Olympic Games p.87

fight a forty-year war, not often easy and not always cleanly fought.”¹⁰⁶ This final statement indicates how deeply he had been affected by the hostility towards, and sniping at, his initial vision of reviving the athletic festivals of ancient Olympia. Much of this criticism had emanated from a number of sources external to the structure of the Olympic movement, including diplomats, governments and sporting organisations who all had differing agendas and motives to those who had been instrumental within the revival movement.

Significantly, from the perspective of the relationship between the IOC and the print media, a number of newspaper proprietors had sought to increase their circulation by exploiting or inventing Olympic disputes, tensions and incidents, thereby nurturing a notion of discord within the developmental stages of international sporting competition.¹⁰⁷ In the short term this was somewhat successful, but, after the IOC had managed to negotiate the first few decades of the twentieth century and the Baron’s dream was still alive, such dissension and those willing to openly criticise the increasingly popular Olympic movement, steadily fell away. During the period of Coubertin’s ‘forty-year war’ the tide had decisively turned in favour of those managing the burgeoning Olympic movement.

Despite this growth, participation in the Games was not universal. Universalism was and still is seen as a central tenet of the IOC’s development plan. The contributions of the distant continents of ‘developing’ nations, and of the enemies of ten years before, added greatly to the diversity of the programme and to the world-wide interest in the Olympic festival. Women’s involvement in the games was further extended to include a limited athletics programme, however, they were not permitted to run any distances beyond 800 metres. The IOC later stated that they would have to consider in greater detail the participation of women, due to the distressed state of many of the competitors after the 800 metres race.¹⁰⁸ Amsterdam in 1928 was a clear example of the growing momentum that the Olympic Movement was experiencing. At each successive gathering,

¹⁰⁶ Ibid p.87

¹⁰⁷ Ibid p.87

¹⁰⁸ Ibid p.89

nations that had not competed before sent teams of participants to test themselves against athletes from across the world. Baron de Coubertin communicated the following sentiments about the Olympic celebration in Amsterdam:

If among the great majority of the competitors each one on the last day can give himself credit for having striven in all honour, without failing for a single instant ... then the moral gain will be won, and the IXth Olympiad will be a noble and happy milestone on the path of chivalrous progress. May it be so. It is my wish and my conviction.¹⁰⁹

The city of Los Angeles was eventually rewarded for effectively underwriting the 1924 Paris Olympic Games. In 1932 the world was in the grip of an economic depression not previously experienced. Financial markets the world over had crashed and unemployment and poverty were rampant. Despite this fact, the 1932 festival was recognised as; "... one of the most financially successful and artistic ever staged."¹¹⁰

At the final count, the Los Angeles Games turned a profit of almost \$1m, attracting 1.25m spectators.¹¹¹ William May Garland, new IOC member and local businessman, was the driving force behind the successes seen at Los Angeles. In 1923 he had formed the Community Development Association, made up from business and civic leaders from the immediate area. Their remit was to prepare the city for staging the best Olympic festival so far seen in the modern era. A huge stadium was built, which seated 100,000 spectators by the time of the opening ceremony. Given the distances involved and the prevailing economic climate, costs had to be minimised as National Olympic Committees began to have reservations about sending athletes to the Games. The organising committee underwrote the expenses of foreign athletes by putting a maximum price on the cost of their passage to Los Angeles. This meant that these costs were approximately half of what they would have been. To further facilitate this process of cost minimisation, a purpose-built Olympic village was erected to house all 1,500 athletes where all their security and comfort needs were provided for.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Ibid p.95

¹¹⁰ Zimmerman, P. in Killanin and Rodda - The Olympic Games p.96

¹¹¹ Ibid p.96

¹¹² Ibid pp.97-8

Other firsts included the introduction of an electric photo-timing device. The innovation of the victor's podium also added to the pageantry of the event,¹¹³ while Teletype communications between Olympic venues were utilised by the press. This system came in the form of an automatic printer that spewed out the results as they came in. Each newspaper and press association had its own machine at its location in the Olympic stadium.¹¹⁴ Such immediacy of information had not occurred at previous gatherings and it allowed the press to keep their readership informed as never before. A free bus service was organised to transport visitors around the city to the different venues hosting the events. Amongst the notable competitors, Mildred (Babe) Didrickson was the undoubted female star. The 18-year-old Texan set two world records in the 80 metre hurdles and the javelin and won silver in the high jump. She was the first woman to capture such attention at the Olympic Games. She was later to go on to become a champion professional in a number of sports and undoubtedly paved the way for the increased participation of women at future Olympic gatherings.¹¹⁵

When the closing ceremony brought down the curtain on the Los Angeles Olympics, the Games that had been in some doubt of taking place due to the global financial crisis had been a great success. There is little doubt that the extraordinary organisational aspects detailed above had a lot to do with this. Indeed, they had earned for themselves a rightful place as one of the finest Games in the history of the modern Olympic movement. Politically it can be argued that the 1932 gathering showed to the world how such an event could be organised under capitalist principles, although any such political message was most likely unintended. However, the Games of the Xth Olympiad, held in Berlin, under the watchful eye of the German National Socialist Party were a completely different matter. The era of political interference at the Olympics had truly arrived.

¹¹³ Ibid p.98

¹¹⁴ Ibid p.98

¹¹⁵ Ibid pp.102-3

(v) Berlin 1936

In 1936, few dictatorships existed in world politics. Although Mussolini's Fascists had long dominated Italy, the Nazi party had come to power only in 1933, two years after the IOC had awarded the Games to Berlin. The Spanish Civil War had only just begun by the time that these Games started on August 1st.¹¹⁶ There were many requests to remove the Games from Berlin after the Nazis came to power, mainly from Jewish and American organisations. It was the American National Olympic Committee President (and later, IOC member in the United States) Avery Brundage who was to find himself in the middle of a controversy that threatened the success of these Games before they had even begun.

Central to the Nazi ideology was a distinct racist policy that was to prove highly controversial for decades. For the IOC the biggest issue was not the acceptance by the Germans of foreign Jewish athletes but in particular the right of German Jews to represent their national team.¹¹⁷ The majority of American sporting authorities supported them in their concerns. In June 1933 the IOC assembled an emergency meeting in Vienna to study the problem and seek assurances from the Germans that entry to their Olympic team would be determined by merit and not by racial factors.¹¹⁸ Even though the IOC got the concessions that they were asking for, there were still a number of reports of discrimination against German-Jewish athletes. It is noteworthy that Avery Brundage wrote in a letter to the American Olympic Committee that the: "... very foundation of the Olympic revival will be undermined if individual countries are allowed to restrict participation by reason of class, creed or race."¹¹⁹

There were those among the American Olympic Committee (AOC) who sought a confrontation with the Germans over this issue, even proposing an American boycott, which was backed by the powerful Jewish community within the United States. Eventually American objections, although duly presented, were significantly toned down.

¹¹⁶ Riordan, J. in Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. (Eds) *Five Ring Circus* p.107

¹¹⁷ Wenn, S. 'A Tale of Two Diplomats: G.S.Messersmith and C.H.Sherrill on Proposed American Participation in the 1936 Olympics' *Journal of Sport History* Vol.16 No.1 (Spring 1989) p.28

¹¹⁸ Ibid p.35

Guttmann details how in a cosmetic concession twenty-one German Jews were invited to a training camp to determine the make up of the German team. Ultimately, however, no German-Jewish athletes were selected.¹²⁰ The Germans reiterated that any such discriminatory practices were not detailed by official decree. However, Brundage was not impressed. He contacted one of the founder members and now President of the IOC, Count Baillet-Latour, stating that,

The German authorities have displayed a singular lack of astuteness in all of their publicity. On this subject, every news dispatch that has come from Germany seems to indicate that the Hitlerites do not intend to live up to the pledges given to the IOC at Vienna.¹²¹

The Germans continued to state that they had no problem with 'non-Aryan' athletes competing on their Olympic team, but this was not enough for the American Olympic Association. In fact the Americans postponed their acceptance of the invitation to compete at Berlin until Avery Brundage carried out an inspection of the situation within Germany.¹²² Despite his reservations, it is extremely unlikely that Brundage would have sanctioned a boycott unless as a last resort. He was committed to the success of the Olympic Games and ultimately believed that American non-participation would damage the Olympic movement irrevocably. The fact that he had a number of friends who were important members of the German organising committee also facilitated his decision and the subsequent recommendation to the American Olympic Association. As a result of his personal motives, as well as the unclear and conflicting information he was receiving from both sides, Brundage endorsed the participation of the American team.¹²³ The American Olympic Association rubber-stamped his decision unanimously, yet dissenters among the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) were still not placated.¹²⁴

Despite the controversy raging on, the Germans managed to get the ageing Baron de Coubertin to visit the site of the Games. In a radio message he expressed confidence in

¹¹⁹ Guttmann, A. The Olympics p.56

¹²⁰ Ibid p.65

¹²¹ Ibid p.57

¹²² Ibid pp.57-8

¹²³ Wenn, S. 'A Tale of Two Diplomats...' Journal of Sport History (Spring 1989) p.36

the arrangements for the Games, and was further flattered at being nominated by the Nazis for the Nobel Peace Prize.¹²⁵ The endorsement of the recognised founder of modern Olympism for Berlin's candidature gave extra weight to Brundage's conclusions. Much to his annoyance, Brundage believed that the opponents of the Berlin Games and the German regime were not upholding Olympic rules. According to Brundage, their call for a boycott was aimed at undermining Nazism, thereby transforming the Games into a political weapon. It should be remembered that there was little indication at this time of the future horrors that this regime would inflict upon the world over the next decade.

Due to the strong racial mix within the American team, African-American reactions to the issue were especially important. Generally, the athletes were eager to attend.¹²⁶ It is also interesting to note the observations of historian David K. Wiggins, who, in studying the responses of black athletes to the boycott, found that some, but by no means all, African-Americans were actually anti-Semitic themselves.¹²⁷ Whilst this may not have made them especially sympathetic to the Nazi ideology, it did leave them less troubled over the discrimination of Jewish athletes in Germany. Brundage attributed much of the opposition to American participation as being related to ethnic prejudice and unease with the prevailing Nazi ideology. He referred to it as a conspiracy of Jews and Communists.¹²⁸ In the stadium the display of swastikas and the echoing chants of 'Sieg Heil' from the amassed faithful marked the opening of the Games.¹²⁹

In many ways it was ironic, given the subject of the controversy surrounding the period prior to the Games, that one of the most enduring images of Berlin 1936 was that of the black American, James Cleveland (Jesse) Owens collecting four gold medals. Owens was undoubtedly the star of these Olympic Games. Early in the Games, Chancellor Hitler, who was not known for his sportsmanship, summoned the first two German medal winners to his box in the stadium, so that he could personally congratulate

¹²⁴ Ibid p.29

¹²⁵ Guttmann, A. The Olympic Games p.59

¹²⁶ Ibid p.60

¹²⁷ Ibid p.60

¹²⁸ Ibid p.68

¹²⁹ Mandell, R. The Nazi Olympics (Urbana 1987) pp.151-155

them. Markedly (and infamously) there was no recognition for Owens or any other of the black athletes who were so patently and embarrassingly undermining the Nazi theory expounding Aryan superiority and supremacy.¹³⁰ While there were numerous press reports detailing Hitler's refusal to shake the hand of the black American athletes who had won gold, Olympic historian Richard Mandell proposes that the German Chancellor simply was not present at the ceremonies when Owens and others received their medals.¹³¹ Whilst this may have been a deliberate act on Hitler's part, the details are unclear. In fact, Allen Guttman explains that IOC president, Count Baillet-Latour, told Hitler that he was only a guest of honour at the Games and therefore he should congratulate all or none of the victorious athletes.¹³²

Significantly, the records of black American athletes and their performances were excluded from scoring charts as detailed in the hard-line Nazi publication, *Der Angriff*. Yet the Nazi leadership strongly rebuked the authors as they proclaimed that, "...special care should be exercised not to offend Negro athletes."¹³³ This effectively amounted to a temporary suspension of the ideals and values associated with the pervading racist, Nazi ideology. Such practice was not universal, however, as the hotel rooms of suspected 'unfriendly' foreign journalists were searched and the press box in the main arena was infiltrated by the Nazis, to vet reports by foreign newspapermen. Extensive press releases were produced, although for many they smacked of Nazi propaganda.¹³⁴

It is clear that this is the first Olympic festival where information was effectively managed to such an extent. The majority of the official press releases projected an image of the hosts that was later to be proved false. The IOC and the other Olympic organisations had not previously sought to influence comment on such a scale. Yet it is conceivable that the IOC learned specific procedures from their German hosts regarding the packaging and dissemination of official information. Even by the standards of the post-Second World War period, the Berlin Olympics required a massive organisational

¹³⁰ Baker, W. *Jesse Owens: An American Life* (New York 1986) p.109

¹³¹ Mandell, R. *The Nazi Olympics* p.228

¹³² Guttman, A. *The Olympics* p.68

¹³³ *Ibid* p.68

effort. In fact thousands of people were involved in the preparations, and for the first time, military organisations played a crucial role in running the Olympic Games.¹³⁵ Hitler primarily wanted to impress the world with the magnificence of the Games while also highlighting the competence and efficiency of the Nazi system. It is safe to say that the world was suitably impressed with the staging of the Games. Approximately 3,690 newspapers and magazines received bulletins of official comment, over 3,000 of which were based outside Germany. In all, around 3,000 journalists attended the Games and there were over 150,000 visitors.¹³⁶ According to Guttmann, many of those who attended the Games left with definite fears regarding the overt militarism on display. Paradoxically the aesthetic spectacle of the Berlin Games provided a less than entirely negative view of German National Socialism for those in attendance.¹³⁷

Berlin in 1936 was also the first Olympic Games to be televised. Television pictures were shown on a closed-circuit system to arenas and halls throughout the country. An audience of over 160,000 people watched the events unfold at the main Olympic sites via this new technology.¹³⁸ Significantly, in a move that pleased the IOC, the Germans had the idea of the first athletes' torch relay to transport the Olympic flame to the stadium.¹³⁹ Despite all these innovations, the 1936 gathering will be remembered for the atmosphere engendered by Hitler and the Nazis. It is unlikely that there would be another Olympic festival where the proceedings were dominated by so much chauvinism, racism and military involvement.¹⁴⁰

Conclusion.

The first 40 years of the Olympic movement had been characterised by error, misjudgement, infighting and numerous diplomatic and organisational problems. Despite the turbulence associated with this period in the development of the Olympic movement, the organisation had not only survived but also flourished, to the extent that the Olympic

¹³⁴ Mandell, R. The Nazi Olympics p.145

¹³⁵ Wilson, P. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. The Olympic Games p.115

¹³⁶ Ibid p.115

¹³⁷ Guttmann, A. The Olympics p.67

¹³⁸ Wilson, P. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. The Olympic Games p.115

¹³⁹ Guttmann, A. The Olympics p.66

Games had taken on an international importance matched by few other international festivals. It can be argued that this was the case in spite of the IOC's management of the Olympic movement rather than because of it.

On occasion as events occur, the pressure to apply policy to changes in the nature of the operational dynamic can highlight a relevant issue as it applies to, and impinges upon, the Olympic movement. In many cases this pressure forces the Olympic authorities to react. Indeed, the propaganda use of the Olympic festival, after the hijacking of Olympic imagery by the Nazis at the Berlin Olympic Games of 1936 became really relevant at an organisational level, only after the event itself.¹⁴¹ The IOC and the Olympic movement are more likely to act against a particular event or issue when it has practical manifestations or is of pressing concern. Wherever appropriate, the approach taken within the thesis will acknowledge the relevancy of such events and examine specifically how they have presented challenges for the Olympic organisations. While the media's relationship with the Olympic phenomenon will be examined in due course, it is necessary to put into context the link between the media and image projection here as this remains an undercurrent of the thesis.

The process of valuing information and the consequent desire to manage an image began when information was first dissipated and disseminated via each of the modern media forms, to their particular audience at a particular point in time. This has been facilitated by the exposure of the general population to various events and news, both Olympic and non-Olympic, that have linked their common existence to media output. This process occurred from the early days of the print media through the incorporation of radio and more recently in the increasingly interactive partnership with television. Indeed the potential of each new media form has led to a process of adapting operations, adopting values and for the most part accommodating the specific needs of the media. Indeed, all the media forms have played a significant role in the development of official information control and therefore the management of the Olympic image. The period

¹⁴⁰ Wilson, P. in, Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. The Olympic Games p.112

¹⁴¹ Mandell, R. The Nazi Olympics pp.144-5

immediately following the Second World War was to test the organisation in other, very different ways. Yet interestingly the organisation continued to progress in the face of the diplomatic wasteland associated with the peculiar politics of the Cold War.

Chapter 2

THE STRUCTURE OF THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT AND THE ROLE OF OLYMPISM.

As was made clear in the introduction, the process of reaching universal definitions of what the officially used Olympic terminology actually stands for is fraught with formidable problems. The economic, cultural, political, moral and social diversity of member nations are just a few of the factors contributing to such difficulties. As has been previously stated, for this thesis, the working definition of Olympism will be that as espoused by the Olympic movement and promoted via the Olympic charter.¹⁴² It is vital, however, for the purposes of being able to present a coherent thread running throughout this thesis, that a particular definition of Olympism is identified as being used for official purposes. This presents opportunities for an organisational and developmental analysis both of the dynamics of the Olympic movement and the relationship to the theory of Olympism. It is noteworthy that the definition espoused by the IOC has undergone revisions and changes based on organisational pragmatism as well as the need to react and adapt to change as an administrative authority. The issues that have arisen from this process will be examined in the context of how the practicalities of Olympism have manifested themselves as well as how official information is presented.

(i) Olympism - The Olympic philosophy

It is important to begin this Chapter by detailing the origins and development of the theory of Olympism before then examining its practical aspects. As was briefly noted in the introduction, Olympism is the name given to the values associated with the organisational philosophy of the Olympic movement. This is firmly rooted in the philosophies of the ancient Greek civilisations. It was the acknowledged founder of the modern Olympic tradition, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, who tied the revivalist celebrations of the ancient Olympic festivals to a set of ideals which when coupled to more modern and pragmatic sporting values came to be known as Olympism. Pierre de Coubertin formulated his notion of a broad sporting ideology from a variety of sources. The moral

¹⁴² IOC, The Olympic Charter (Lausanne 1995) p.10

code that he proposed for use within the Olympic movement was drawn from three main strands. There was his classical education, his admiration for the 'muscularly Christian' education associated with the English public schools, and the eastern American Universities,¹⁴³ as well as the pageantry and celebration associated with such rural, folk events as staged by Dr. William Penny Brookes and the Much Wenlock Olympian society.¹⁴⁴ These influences created an amalgam of ideas based around the notion of educating individuals through their involvement in sport, and the discipline associated with their participation.

The theme of education as being the key to the success of the fledgling Olympic movement became central to the continued importance and dynamism of an Olympic philosophy. As has been previously pointed out, the Olympic movement continues to value education very highly, as this provides the opportunity to instill the organisation's values in future generations. In terms of regulatory systems, Olympism is flexible enough to underpin many operational tasks. Indeed, the provision of an ideal, no matter how unattainable, is crucial for the IOC, the wider Olympic movement and the successful celebration of the Olympic Games. A good starting point for an examination of how the IOC applies the Olympic philosophy to international sport is to examine how and in what context the ancient Greeks viewed their sporting festivals. Subsequently it is possible to identify how and why the control and management of the IOC's organisational image as well as that of the Olympic movement occurred.

The ancient games at Olympia were far from exclusively sporting gatherings. As was detailed in the previous chapter, the Greeks sought to emphasise the need for a parallel development of the body, mind and spirit of the individual. Art, education and religion influenced this personal development as much as physicality. That is not to say that athletic competitions were insignificant. In fact the need for strong warriors and military training was very important to the ancient Greek civilisation. For the ancient Greek competitors, a victory was not an end in itself as for the Greeks, the competition

¹⁴³ Tomlinson, A., in Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G.(Eds) Five Ring Circus (London 1984) p.184

¹⁴⁴ Young, D. The Modern Olympics pp.8-9

was viewed as a celebration of their gods.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, the manner of the victory and the conduct of participants were perceived as being just as important as the outcome of the contest. Pierre de Coubertin sought to encapsulate key elements of all of these values in his process of revising and modernising the ancient Greek philosophies and teachings.

Nowadays, Olympism is viewed by the IOC as a force capable of binding together all nations according to universal concepts related to greater interaction and wider understanding via the medium of sporting competition. Throughout this process it is essential that a positive image of Olympic and therefore international sporting competition be maintained. The IOC revels in the position of being the overseer and executive authority within the organisational structure of the Olympic movement. This therefore allows them unrivalled control of the direction pursued by the organisation itself and the emphasis placed upon Olympism by the wider Olympic movement. In the contemporary Olympic Charter the philosophy is clearly identified:

Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the quality of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles.¹⁴⁶

Furthermore,

The goal of Olympism is to place everywhere sport at the service of the harmonious development of man(kind), with a view to encouraging the establishment of a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity.¹⁴⁷

As can be seen from the preceding quotations, the complexity of Olympism as a theoretical ideal related to the development of the individual is highlighted by the variety of differing concepts encapsulated within it. The terminology used via official channels has always been suitably vague and malleable, thereby allowing the Olympic authorities to make use of a variety of possible interpretations. The IOC and other Olympic

¹⁴⁵ Carter, A. The Olympic Glory that was Greece (Athens 1996) pp.25-7

¹⁴⁶ IOC, The Olympic Charter p.10

¹⁴⁷ Ibid p.10

authorities have therefore had the leeway to manage the direction of their organisation, depending upon their own specific agendas. Among the various ideals that contribute to the organisational definition of Olympism are the notions of fair-play, amateurism, self-discipline, individual well-being, courage, respect for one's opponents, goodwill and international understanding.¹⁴⁸ A cursory glance at these factors illustrates how such wide discrepancies can exist when national values and definitions are added to the equation. Cultural and economic differences between the United States and Iraq or Iran, for example, demonstrates how nations often do not share the same values, or even vaguely similar interpretations of the values listed above. In fact, sport is invariably a microcosm of the values and culture of the society in which it exists. A better understanding of the issues involved is demonstrated by dealing with each of these key conceptual aims of the Olympic movement.

The western background and tradition of the revivalists within the Olympic movement has given the organisation its primary philosophical direction throughout much of the past hundred years. While remaining an important influence the power structure has shifted significantly. The later use of pragmatic public relations to facilitate the IOC's management of the image of the Olympic movement has been an ongoing feature of the organisation. Notably, the ability of the Olympic authorities to shape official comment and policy is limited by the need to be seen to be acting upon and according to, official comment. For example, the Olympic Charter highlights the desire to 'respect universal fundamental ethical principles'. This suggests that there is an international consensus of sorts related to ethics, motives and sporting values. In fact, it is clear that there are as many differences between the cultural motives and practices of nations as there are similarities. Despite no consensus on this or many other issues the official desire to focus on these ideals is still of use to the Olympic authorities and their attempts at image management. However, a brief consideration of the extent of universalism, as alluded to by the IOC, indicates that for the most part the Olympic movement has had limited success in achieving this noble yet elusive aim. The fact that

¹⁴⁸ USOC, Olympism pp.3-4

geographically diverse NOCs have been included within the Olympic movement is still a long way from universalism.

As for the promotion of ‘a peaceful society’, it seems that this is little more than a utopian dream, given the history of global conflict and disagreement that has occurred throughout the last century. Despite the fact that many of these conflicts have had little to do directly with the IOC and the Olympic movement, they have nonetheless had a profound influence on the shape of and defining moments from a succession of Olympic Games. In fact, the idea promulgated by official information that somehow sport exists in a vacuum outside the realm of political influence is simply incorrect. The significant and ongoing Cold War tensions that characterised almost forty years of the twentieth century encompassing eleven Olympic Games¹⁴⁹ are an excellent example of this. Given these obvious difficulties, the IOC has still needed an all-encompassing philosophy, such as Olympism, in order to be able to retain a measure of consistency of comment and therefore control over the Olympic movement. Olympism has served this purpose by allowing the Olympic authorities to constantly reappraise and adapt their influence over the sporting landscape. The implications of this unique position are demonstrated clearly in the image projected and influence exerted by the IOC President, as the figurehead of the IOC and the wider Olympic movement. This aura surrounding the office of IOC President is something that has been nurtured, to a lesser or greater degree by all incumbents. It is significant that in the words of current IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch, the IOC, out of all of the branches of the Olympic movement is the weakest in terms of the lack of a genuine and tangible powerbase.¹⁵⁰ As the Olympic organisations have often suffered from charges of being unaccountable and out of touch, this begs the question, from where does the IOC’s hold on power originate? While the role of the philosophy of Olympism is important, it cannot solely account for the power structure that exists. Interestingly the IOC has taken a non-committal neutral policy regarding issues related to national and international politics. Undoubtedly, its organisational survival has been dependent upon the success of this policy.

¹⁴⁹ Triesman, D., in Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Five Ring Circus p.17

¹⁵⁰ Miller, D. Olympic Revolution: The Official Biography of Juan Antonio Samaranch (London 1992) p.4

The IOC Presidents will be examined more fully in the next Chapter, including their individual characteristics and their relations with the media at various points in time. At this stage, it is now important to determine the development of the dynamic internal structures within the Olympic movement. This analysis will allow a valuable insight into how the IOC as the supreme Olympic authority has both recognised and utilised the intellectual and practical values associated with the concept of Olympism. An illustration of how the component parts of the organisation interact can be clearly identified by such detailed analysis. There are a number of organisational aims and objectives of the IOC and the wider Olympic movement that require closer consideration as they are inextricably linked to the values associated with the pervading philosophy of Olympism. These will each be analysed in due course once the organisational structure of the Olympic movement has been detailed.

(ii) Structural consistency in the Olympic Movement.

The Olympic movement's remit is:

To contribute to building a peaceful and better world by educating youth through sport practised without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic Spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play.¹⁵¹

This quotation highlights more of the idealised notions that are implied in the role of the Olympic movement. Baron de Coubertin clearly stated that the Olympic movement would also be broadly responsible for the development of sporting competition, yet within that the education and promotion of mutual understanding between individual competitors was to be crucial.¹⁵² Patently, there are other pertinent values that are not mentioned within the above quotation. However, within these stated aims and values an extremely important emphasis is placed by the IOC upon the education of youth. It is fair to say that the abstract character of Olympism has undoubtedly assisted the Olympic authorities as well as other groups in managing change especially in terms of the specific values and motives that should be associated with the modern Olympic movement. This

¹⁵¹ IOC, The Olympic Charter p.11

¹⁵² MacAloon, J. This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the origins of the Modern Olympic Games (London 1984) pp.188-9

process of the management of gradual change in the ideals of the Olympic movement as well as the means of disseminating the Olympic message will be considered in more detail towards the end of this chapter, although it remains a recurrent theme throughout this thesis.

The Olympic movement comprises three distinctive organisational components: The International Olympic Committee (IOC), the International Sports Federations (ISFs) and the National Olympic Committees (NOCs).¹⁵³ The IOC is the supreme administrative and policy-making authority of the Olympic movement and undoubtedly the most powerful of its constituent parts. The IOC is a self-perpetuating oligarchy, in that future members are nominated and elected by the organisation's current members. A single member represents each NOC that is affiliated to the IOC. In practice however, those nations that have hosted the Olympic Games and those that have the largest populations are permitted further IOC members.¹⁵⁴ Any proposed new member must be a national of the country of his or her domicile, which must also have an active National Olympic Committee. The ability to speak one or other of the official IOC languages - French or English - is a prerequisite.¹⁵⁵ This self-perpetuating nature and the Euro-centric tradition of the organisation has afforded a certain degree of continuity in terms of the values held by those who do eventually become IOC members.¹⁵⁶

Monique Berlioux, former IOC Press Officer and Director of the IOC between 1969 and 1985, stated that the organisation "...has unquestionable powers as guide, guardian and arbiter. It is the supreme body in the Olympic Movement, the rock, the foundation stone."¹⁵⁷ (As a powerful woman within an organisation often charged as being an aristocratic boys club, her role was crucial.) The IOC's affairs are managed by the Executive Board,¹⁵⁸ which controls the administration and organisational structure.

¹⁵³ IOC, The Olympic Charter p.13

¹⁵⁴ Miller, D. Olympic Revolution p.18

¹⁵⁵ IOC, The Olympic Charter (Lausanne 1994) p.43

¹⁵⁶ For a fuller appraisal of these individuals see Appendix 8, The Backgrounds of the IOC members.

¹⁵⁷ Berlioux, M., in Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. The Olympic Games p.21

¹⁵⁸ The Executive Board acts in a similar way to the Cabinet within the democratic model of government. Senn, E. Power, Politics and the Olympic Games: A History of the power brokers, events, and controversies that shaped the Games (Champaign 1999) p.8

The Executive Board is made up of senior IOC members and reports directly to the IOC. It also approves budgets and generally ensures the observation of the details of the Olympic Charter. The General Assembly of the Members, referred to as the IOC Session, must approve any proposal from the Executive Board. In return the Session may delegate powers back to the Executive Board.¹⁵⁹ Administration of the authority is guided by the President and the Executive Board, yet the Director General and Secretary General head the overall administration of such key departments as; Olympic Solidarity, Sport, Finance, Marketing, Public Relations, Legal Affairs, Information, Computer Services, Press Services and the Olympic Museum.¹⁶⁰ These departments are frequently called upon to provide working groups, or Commissions, to study certain pressing issues and concerns that the Executive Board deem worthy of more detailed consideration before a specific IOC policy can be finalised. Examples of recent Commissions instituted within the Olympic movement are; Olympic Education, Eligibility, Athletes, Medical, Press, Radio and Television, Olympic Solidarity and notably in terms of the later analysis of the bidding process, Ethics 2000.¹⁶¹

Olympic Solidarity also provides an excellent example of an organisational initiative targeting one of the central goals of the IOC. This initiative is given a key role in the practical and universal association with the philosophy of Olympism. Olympic Solidarity effectively serves as a development fund set up to assist with the dissemination of the Olympic message worldwide. More practically this can lead to financial aid being provided to poorer countries, thereby allowing them to send athletes and competitors to participate in the Olympic Games.¹⁶² Despite the universal emphasis placed upon the practice of sport being one of the central tenets of the Olympic movement, the IOC has yet to adequately fund this area. If they did so, it would enable athletes from poorer nations not just to compete at the Olympics but to improve their own performances. In doing so these athletes would be competing on a more equal footing to those athletes

¹⁵⁹ Ibid pp.7-8

¹⁶⁰ British Olympic Association, BOA Information Pack (London 1996) pp.10-12

¹⁶¹ The Ethics 2000 commission was established as the reaction to the revelations of improper practices by IOC members prior to the vote for the site of the 2002 Winter Olympic Games.

¹⁶² IOC The Olympic Charter (Lausanne 1993) pp.17-18

from wealthier countries, many of whom have had up to four years of subsidised training for the Olympic Games.

The second and increasingly important branch of the Olympic movement is the group of ISFs. They represent the sports that are involved in the Olympic programme, and members are responsible for the overall international development, administration and organisation of their particular sport.¹⁶³ According to ISF criteria, to be considered for inclusion in the Olympic Games summer programme a sport should be practiced by men in at least 75 countries on 4 continents, and by women in at least 40 countries on 3 continents.¹⁶⁴ There are recent instances where these criteria seem to have been circumvented for the benefit of spectacle or entertainment. (Beach volleyball is a good example of this process.) The issue of what demonstration events are to be staged in a particular Olympic Games also remains pertinent to this issue. Furthermore, the influence of some of the larger ISFs within the Olympic movement has grown markedly. The popularity and therefore the marketability of the particular sports involved have fueled this process of unequal expansion. Good examples are both the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA) and the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF). The financial success of the World Cup and the European Nations Championship between the late 1970s and the late 1990s allowed both FIFA, and Joao Havelange (the association's then president during that governing body's key formative years), to become very influential and powerful within the organisation of ISFs.

The IAAF on the other hand, guided by the federation's late president, the Italian Primo Nebiolo, not only sought to increase its power and influence but also created events that fundamentally challenged the exclusivity of the athletics disciplines at the Olympic Games. Whether intentionally or not, the IAAF-backed biennial World Athletic Championships (from the early 1980s onwards) provided a definite challenge to the claims by the Olympic movement that their festivals are the pinnacle of sporting

¹⁶³ BOA, BOA Information Pack p.22

¹⁶⁴ Ibid p.21 It is noteworthy that at the Winter Olympic Games, men and women in at least 25 countries on 3 continents must practise a sport for it to be included. Certain (e.g. Islamic) nations may be absent from

competition and achievement. The financial inducements paid to top athletes to participate in such IAAF events as the 'Golden League' remain appealing, however, they have yet to match the perceived glory of setting a world record or gaining a victory at the Olympic Games.¹⁶⁵

The ISFs have also organised themselves into a wider authority known as the General Assembly of International Sports Federations (GAISF).¹⁶⁶ This has allowed the ISFs to concentrate their relative influence and increase their ability to lobby for their own members' interests by exerting a greater influence over the Olympic movement as a whole. Associations such as the Summer Olympic International Sports Federations (SOISF) and Winter Olympic International Sports Federations (WOISF) have further contributed to the complex dynamic within the wider structure of the ISFs. This process of association has led to an extension of this group's influence and role within the Olympic movement. Subsequently, the increasing involvement of the ISFs in such areas as doping control, the issue of the expansion of the number of events at the Olympic Games and the associated problems of Gigantism, further testifies to their increasing power and influence.

The National Olympic Committees (NOCs) are the third arm of the Olympic movement and effectively provide the legitimacy required by the IOC to be able to exert control over the Olympic world.¹⁶⁷ The main organisational aim of the NOCs is to ensure that competitors from their respective countries attend the Games, as they are the only authorities, able to sanction participation. They are also charged with encouraging participation in sport at all levels and furthering the Olympic ideals, specifically

Winter Olympic Games, due to an unfavourable climate, whereas gender discrimination and inequality of access are still strong elements in sport in other territories.

¹⁶⁵ The instances of athletes targeting their performances in order to maximise their earning potential are numerous. Moses Kiptanui aimed to peak at the Weltklasse invitational Grand Prix athletics meetings, where the outstanding athletes could earn substantial sums. See, Chadband, I. 'Why money talks louder than a fistful of medals' in *Sunday Times* 20/8/1995.

¹⁶⁶ Other organisations, such as the Association of Summer International Sports Federations (ASOIF) and the General Assembly of International Sports Federations (GAISF), are also becoming increasingly influential. http://www.olympic.org/ioc/e/org/ioc/ioc_move_e.html The Olympic Movement 30/6/1999 and http://www.olympic.org/ioc/e/org/ioc/ioc_intro_e.html Olympic Organisations 30/6/1999

¹⁶⁷ IOC *The Olympic Charter* pp.47-56

Olympism, within their respective countries.¹⁶⁸ It is through the recognition of the various NOCs and the associated threat of withdrawal of such recognition that the IOC retains a practical degree of control over the Olympic movement. As a result of this the NOCs have organised themselves into the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC). The extent to which the IOC can use sanctions against an individual NOC is somewhat limited by the power and solidarity of the ANOC and therefore by the amount of revenue that the IOC stands to lose if they were to alienate a particular NOC and its allies.¹⁶⁹ There are numerous examples of this related to instances that arose in the 1970s and 1980s as a result of disagreements and tensions involving diverse groups such as the Warsaw Pact or the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Different NOCs have varying degrees of influence within the organisational processes of the Olympic movement. Each NOC has distinct values and interests which can directly affect the findings of Olympic Commissions. These findings in turn establish the parameters within which IOC policy decisions are taken. The ANOC is not quite as powerful or influential as either the IOC or the ISFs. However, it has partially managed to protect its members' interests within the Olympic movement by further dividing into five regional power bases, along continental boundaries, and seeking representation (and therefore voting rights) on a number of related and relevant Olympic Commissions.

It should be noted that following the cessation of Olympic Congresses in 1930, there was a reduction in the opportunities for the ISFs and the NOCs to participate fully in the process of Olympic decision-making. Their spheres of influence became increasingly defined under the Brundage presidency. However, with the increasing size and popularity of the Games, including the rise in revenues generated, the ISFs and the NOCs have sought greater involvement in establishing policy. To this end joint IOC commissions were established in the early 1970s as concessions to the ISFs and NOCs, thereby circumventing many of the structural tensions that existed during this period.¹⁷⁰ This period can be seen as an example of the central management of particular issues

¹⁶⁸ IOC The Olympic Charter p.47

¹⁶⁹ Hill, C. in Allison, L. The Changing Politics of Sport (Manchester 1993) p.88

¹⁷⁰ Guttmann, A. The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement (New York 1984) pp.182-3

with the potential to threaten the whole viability of the organisational structure. Political and organisational machinations that can and do occur in any dynamic organisational or governmental system can also affect the practicalities of how each branch of the Olympic movement reacts to and is influenced by the others. At this stage it is also prudent to mention briefly the other groups involved in producing the unique Olympic mix. These include (in no particular order), spectators, athletes, media and sponsors. The role of each of these will be evaluated in due course within this thesis.

(iii) The Aims and Objectives of the Olympic Movement.

The aims of the IOC and the wider Olympic movement are diverse in character and affect many areas of world sport, not just the Olympic Games. However, the official objectives of the Olympic movement can be further tied down as follows.

- To encourage the co-ordination, organisation and development of sport and sports competitions.
- To collaborate with relevant organisations and authorities in the endeavour to place sport at the service of humanity.
- To ensure the regular celebration of the Olympic Games.
- To fight against any form of discrimination affecting the Olympic Movement.
- To support and encourage the promotion of sports ethics.
- To ensure that in sport the spirit of fair play prevails and violence is banned.
- To lead the fight against doping in sport.¹⁷¹

It will be useful to consider each of these in turn, especially in the context of the official philosophy of Olympism. The chances of successfully achieving each aim and objective within an organisation such as the IOC are often related to their ability to exert control over the relative dynamics that exist within the organisational system itself.

Firstly then, the IOC seeks to encourage sport and sports competitions. The fact that the ISFs are legitimised by their recognition from the IOC allows the supreme authority a certain degree of control over the staging and development of events. As has

¹⁷¹ BOA, BOA Information Pack (London 1997) p.32

been highlighted earlier in this chapter, simply sanctioning these events can create problems for the IOC - problems especially related to the exclusivity and therefore uniqueness of the Olympic Games. The notion of Olympism, and its associated traditions based on antiquity, allows the organisation to set the Olympic Games apart from other similar events as being somehow more noble and worthy. The tradition, history and mythology associated with the Olympic Games separates Olympic gatherings from all other international sporting events. The term Olympic still has connotations of 'excellence' which is something that the Olympic authorities have been very quick to make intellectual and public relations capital from. Additionally, it is notable from the perspective of the process involved in preserving an image, that the term 'Olympic' as well as all the associated symbols and logos are copyrighted and owned by the IOC.¹⁷² As the IOC effectively manages Olympism, the direction in which the organisation develops can be more easily controlled, than during the period prior to the end of the Second World War. It is clear that the IOC's control and influence diminishes with major sporting events organised by the individual sports federations and staged outside the Olympic arena even though the given event is sanctioned by an ISF.

Secondly there is the notion of the IOC collaborating with other relevant organisations in order to be able to place sport at the service of humanity. This certainly sounds like an exacting task. In what way is sport supposed to serve humanity? After all, in the search for a working definition, what do we perceive humanity to be? As the two concepts of sport and humanity are highlighted within the notion of Olympism, it is clear that the IOC wishes to stress the positive aspects of them both. However, if sport is recognised as encompassing competitive recreation, then it is unclear how likely it is that the human race will be better off per se, especially given the inherent characteristics of the competitive dynamic. On the other hand, and accepting the notion that sport can somehow service humanity, an emphasis is placed on the aspects of Olympism related to the promotion of a better understanding between people and nations. Sport is clearly the vehicle that the IOC seeks to utilise for this purpose. Whether this is usually influenced

¹⁷² IOC, The Olympic Charter pp.21-7

by individual rather than organisational values is unclear.¹⁷³ The idea that sport acts as a kind of universal unifying force seems to be beyond the realm or influence of simple organisational policy. Yet it does seem relevant to Olympism in the sense that the Olympic philosophy is at the centre of the IOC's educational programme. This therefore further illustrates the key role that education plays within the expanding Olympic world. The IOA is the flagship of this programme,¹⁷⁴ where organisational concepts are clearly presented, discussed and considered for the consumption of future Olympic administrators as well as the many others represented at the IOA session.

The IOC is further charged with ensuring that there is a regular celebration of the Olympic Games. Although this may seem to be a relatively simple task, it is essential for the continuance of the Olympic movement (and the ability of the IOC to control the Olympic movement) that there is a regular festival of celebration to define the IOC's role within the world of sport. Where would the IOC be without the Olympic Games marking the end of each Olympiad? For the individual IOC members such a scenario probably does not bear thinking about. Regular celebrations of the Olympic Games have occurred, with the notable exception of the First and Second World Wars. It can be argued that in some ways the future success of the Olympic Games depends upon the IOC maintaining control over the form that future Olympic festivals take as well as the cohesiveness of the Olympic movement. Past instances of tensions within the Olympic movement regarding the organisation of the Olympic Games have on a number of occasions needed a considered diplomatic solution. Undoubtedly, the Olympic movement has experienced considerable success in this regard.

To fight against any form of discrimination affecting the Olympic movement, is the next stated aim of the IOC. This certainly was not the position of the organisation at its inception by Baron de Coubertin.¹⁷⁵ In fact, discrimination at the St.Louis Olympics in 1904, where both the American crowd and competitors ridiculed native and foreign

¹⁷³ Organisational values are taken to be those determined by the dominant coalition.

¹⁷⁴ Samaranch, J., in International Olympic Academy 33rd Summer Session Proceedings (Lausanne 1993) pp. 30-31

¹⁷⁵ Hargreaves, J. in, Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Five Ring Circus p.56

participants, was rationalised by the IOC as Americans being unaware of the finer points of Olympism.¹⁷⁶ Unfortunately, as the IOC was in its infancy at the time, there were few concrete steps that could be taken to rescue this celebration. Although this level of blatant discrimination and marginalisation does not occur nowadays, there are still numerous examples of inequality of access to opportunity within the Olympic movement. Women's events at the Olympic Games were initially frowned upon, and then for a significant period were sidelined. Even now there is a certain amount of discrepancy in the events open to male and female competitors.¹⁷⁷ The minimal representation of women in positions of power within the Olympic movement is another excellent example of this inequality. The situation of women within Muslim countries indicates how cultural disparities, can affect issues of gender equality in sport. The notion of a level playing field for all participants at the Olympic Games is presently a long way from the reality of the situation. Notably the IOC will delegate the admission of Muslim women to Olympic events, to the individual NOC concerned. In fact, wherever possible issues of eligibility are delegated to the NOC or ISF concerned. The ability of the IOC to influence change in such situations is limited, yet the organisation still advocates universality as being central to their aims of promoting the Olympic movement's message within the global context. Financial imbalances between NOCs are supposedly being redressed by the IOC's development fund referred to as Olympic Solidarity. While this has undoubtedly improved the situation for some athletes around the world there is little chance of it ever being able to achieve what it sets out to do, namely to eradicate all of the global inequalities that exist within Olympic sport.

A consideration of the value systems within the Olympic movement makes it clear that the IOC aspires to support and encourage the promotion of sporting ethics. This goal seems most closely related to Olympism as espoused by the Olympic authorities, out of all those listed. Again the assumption is made that the IOC seeks to promote the positive aspects of sport. As the supreme Olympic authority and therefore the guardians

¹⁷⁶ Guttman, A. The Olympics p.25

¹⁷⁷ The number and variety of events open to women has differed over time, indeed the 800m was included in the Amsterdam Games of 1928, but then suspended. Wallechinsky D. The Complete book of the Olympic Games preface xvi also pp.188-251

of the Olympic philosophy, the IOC is in the unique position of being able to control, or at least influence, the form that these ethical and philosophical values take. The management and continuous reappraisal of the philosophy of Olympism is a key factor in this regard. However, it is essential for the continued success of the organisation that it accounts for and adapts to the value systems that exist within its members' territories.

The IOC also views itself as assisting in promoting the spirit of fair play and the banning of unnecessary violence. (Presumably this is limited to attempts at influencing the sporting sphere rather than violence in general.) The first concept has definite historical connotations, especially regarding the notion of the 'gentleman amateur' and the theory of amateurism in sporting competition, which was popular at the turn of the last century and incorporated into the Olympic Charter by Baron de Coubertin himself.¹⁷⁸ It is noteworthy that the term 'amateur' has long since been removed from the Olympic Charter. This is important as the associated values of amateurism are in direct contrast to the central Olympic tenet of universalism and freedom of opportunity. If the IOC proposes fair play with all of its class associations, then how can they reconcile this with the universal aspects related to Olympism? Most people would agree that the banning of violence at sporting events is certainly desirable and that the IOC has not been wholly unsuccessful in promoting peace. Certainly, there have been few overt threats of violence at the Olympic Games; excepting the deaths of Israeli athletes after Palestinian terrorists broke into the Olympic village at the Munich games of 1972. The IOC has styled the notion of a cessation of violence along similar yet clearly re-invented lines to the Olympic Truce of the ancient Greeks. This initiative has not been a total success, specifically given the diplomatic failures at the time of the First and Second World Wars. It can also be argued that during the Cold War, the Olympic Games themselves were actually the metaphorical battleground between the competing political systems of the USA and the USSR.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Jobling, I. 'The Olympic Movement as an expression of the World's Power systems: An analysis of motives, attitudes and values', in, IOA 33rd Summer Session Proceedings p.139

¹⁷⁹ The IOC's Olympic Truce was relatively successful during the recent civil war in the former Yugoslavia where a cessation of violence was negotiated for the duration of the Olympic Games.

The IOC is in an effective 'no lose' situation with the promotion of an Olympic Truce. If they do negotiate towards or influence a peace and it lasts, then they are hailed as great humanitarians and peacemakers. However, if the peace does not hold then they can comfortably step back from the situation as they are in no position to carry out the sanction of restoring the peace through the use of force. Perhaps the Olympic movement would do well to remember that the success of their truce depends upon the goodwill that exists between the protagonists in any dispute. This is often a commodity in short supply in volatile, conflict situations. It should also be noted that the incidence of violence within the Olympic arena itself has been limited. It is safe to say that due to the inclusion and pervasion of ceremonial aspects into the festival, ritualised violence has also been minimised.

Peace and the Olympic Games will continue to be a utopian ideal as long as the differences between people rather than the similarities are highlighted.¹⁸⁰ The Olympic movement's limited successes in achieving their goals did not dissuade the IOC from mounting a concerted campaign to secure the Nobel peace prize for the organisation. According to Andrew Jennings, at one point top advisors within the IOC viewed this as a certainty.¹⁸¹ It would seem to be unwise to convey such an honour upon an organisation that has had considerable difficulty in avoiding boycotts and diplomatic incidents that have plagued almost every Olympic festival to varying degrees. Where politics impinge upon the gathering there can be no practical peace given that the nations of the world have such a wide variety of political systems and cultures. Despite continuing trends towards a global culture, it is likely that this new cultural form will exist alongside distinct national cultures and norms.¹⁸² This diversity of motives and agendas can therefore directly affect the tensions that exist at the Olympic Games.

¹⁸⁰ Baron de Coubertin believed that the expansion of sporting competition would allow greater understanding between nations and assist in blurring the differences. De Coubertin, P. 'The Apotheosis of Olympism', in Revue Sportive Illustree p.17 (Geneva 1932) Box 102, held at the Avery Brundage Collection, University of Illinois, USA (ABC at U of I)

¹⁸¹ Jennings, A. The New Lords of the Rings (London 1996) pp.250-1

¹⁸² Toffler, A. Powershift (New York 1991) pp.58-64, and Kennedy, P. Preparing for the Twenty-first Century (London 1994) pp.224-226

The final goal of the Olympic movement has been to lead the fight against doping in sport. This notion, depending upon the source, can be seen as either a parody of the true situation or as a noble and successful policy central to the ethical values that the IOC places upon the sporting landscape. Although the former will not appear on official press releases this view has begun to gain support over the past few decades.¹⁸³ This illustrates a divergent point of view related to the official version, and clearly identifies an example of the projection of an inconsistent Olympic image. This is especially the case with the information released after the demise of the former Soviet bloc. Speculative reports of the systematic doping of eastern bloc athletes were rife in the 1970s and 1980s and a decade or so later were fully verified. However, such revelations and the concentration on the situation in Eastern Europe distracted attention away from the doping situation within other nations. Doping in sport was and still is a worldwide problem. The apparent secrecy associated with the former Warsaw Pact nations, and the fact that in many such countries there was direct state involvement in the national sports agenda, laid them open to charges, in the western media, of the widespread doping of athletes. Since the demise of the Soviet bloc in the 1990s, documents have become available that highlight the full extent of this highly undesirable, yet ethically crucial issue. No matter how good the performances, drugs remain the antithesis of the values associated with the Olympic movement. The maintenance of the type of image that sponsors expect and, more importantly, are willing to invest in is crucial. What is clear is that the Olympic authorities do not manage the issue as easily as they would have the sporting community and the wider global society believe. The official comment on such issues is crucial to the study of information dissemination, and will therefore be returned to on a periodic basis.

Any organisation that has a social element to it reflects, within its own dynamic systems, the values and morals of the wider society in which it exists and operates. It is therefore possible to conclude that the aims stated above are effectively little more than utopian ideals, unlikely to ever be fully realised. In this case the vague character of the stated organisational aims allows the Olympic movement a certain degree of leeway when appraising whether they have achieved their objectives or not. What is clear is that

¹⁸³ Jennings, A. The New Lords of the Rings pp.232-3

the IOC has not been universally unsuccessful in implementing the above officially identified objectives, yet at the same time official pragmatism has led to their goals and achievements lacking a certain clarity. The exaggeration of achievements, initiatives and policies only serves to project an image of an organisation both deluding itself and out of touch with its powerbase. A detailed examination of the means by which the IOC and the wider Olympic movement is funded gives a broader picture of the organisational dynamics involved.

(iv) Olympic Revenues.

When it comes to funding, the Olympic movement receives the vast majority of its income nowadays from the sale of television rights and from a wide variety of marketing arrangements. Over the past thirty years in particular the IOC, as the guardian of the Olympic movement, has sought to maximise organisational revenues. The Olympic movement and the IOC were very poor in the 1960s. This situation was totally divergent from the perception of the organisation as an international sporting authority of such perceived lofty stature. The contrast with the financial situation of the Olympic authorities nowadays is one of a complete transformation. Increasingly significant proportions of revenues are derived from the sale of television and broadcasting rights. The development of the marketing and sponsorship revenues from the Olympic Games has also gathered pace especially in the last twenty years. For an indication of how the revenues from global television rights have escalated since the Mexico City Games of 1968, see Appendix IV. The funds received from television rights are generally shared among the main branches of the Olympic movement as follows. The host city's organising committee receives 49%, whilst the remaining 51% is distributed equally between the IOC, ISFs and the NOCs. This is done only after certain expenses (for example, referees' and judges' payments) are subtracted.¹⁸⁴

It is clear that the IOC is now an extremely affluent organisation, yet clearly this has not always been the case and the transformation has not been without problems. As a result of the increasing amounts being paid for Olympic television rights and therefore

¹⁸⁴ BOA, BOA Information Pack p.15

the organisation's increasing reliance upon it as a revenue source, the IOC became aware of the need to diversify their means of income generation. The organisation had previously struggled to cover all of its costs, yet the huge growth in television revenues throughout the 1960s and 1970s provided a steady source of income. Nevertheless, it became obvious to many within the IOC that with the growth in television revenue, the Olympic movement was in danger of becoming too reliant upon it as their major source of income. Subsequently, alternative sources of organisational revenue had to be identified and maximised in order to stop the organisation becoming too beholden unto broadcasting company agendas. This was especially pressing with the big American networks as they had begun to seek a greater input in both the form and scheduling of Olympic events. The IOC has always projected an image of itself, whereby it exists free from external influence of every kind. As the influence and input of television companies gradually increased, it can be argued that the IOC's control of the form that Olympic gatherings take was being slowly eroded. This has serious implications for the tensions that exist between the image and the practicality of the philosophy of the Olympic movement. The IOC must be seen to be in control of the direction of the Olympic movement. This is a difficult goal to achieve. Indeed, the ability to maintain an image, especially with such outside pressures affecting the nature of the Olympic Games, is dependent upon the management of, or incorporation of these external pressures into the wider dynamic.

Although sponsorship is now a very important source of revenue to the Olympic movement, prior to 1985 its potential had been relatively untapped. The Los Angeles Olympic Organising Committee (LAOOC) for the 1984 Olympic Games had introduced Olympic sponsorship with a certain amount of success. The fact that the IOC had even allowed this to be tried out was due to the experiences of previous Olympic Organising Committees being left with the legacy of a severe financial shortfall.¹⁸⁵ When Los Angeles won the right to host the 1984 Olympic Games the organising committee sought special dispensation from the IOC to pursue alternative areas of funding for the gathering. This was made possible only by a revision of Rule 40 of the Olympic Charter that was

¹⁸⁵ Gruneau, R. in, Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Five Ring Circus p.9

authorised by the IOC.¹⁸⁶ Los Angeles had found itself in the unique position of effectively being the only possible host for the 1984 Olympic Games after Teheran had pulled out of the running. This gave LAOOC a significant degree of influence in negotiating with the IOC over both the revenues and funding arrangements as well as the emphasis that the gathering would have.¹⁸⁷

The Los Angeles Olympic Games in 1984 was perhaps the most commercially orientated games so far.¹⁸⁸ The partnerships established with business interests, the revamping of existing facilities¹⁸⁹ and the widespread use of volunteers from the local area meant that the gathering returned a profit of close to \$225m.¹⁹⁰ Although this was seen as a step too far by some Olympic traditionalists, the arrangements for the accommodation of both sponsors and commercial interests were eventually grudgingly accepted. The experience of the LAOOC in 1984, provided a model for the IOC (and other sporting organisations) to develop the marketing of events centrally from within. Effectively, the staging of the Olympic Games in Los Angeles exposed the Olympic movement to the unique sports marketing environment within the United States. As a result of incorporating these principles, the IOC secured another potentially valuable source of revenue for the whole Olympic movement. The extent of this potential was not immediately realised, but it was soon to exceed the most favourable estimates proposed by the IOC's own committees of inquiry. It remains to be seen how long the cash will continue to flow and how far any fundamental revenue shifts will affect the future of the Olympic movement, as well as the ability to achieve its organisational objectives.

The Olympic Programme (TOP) was born out of the initiatives shown by the LAOOC in 1984. TOP was developed in 1985 under the guidance of the Chairman of Adidas Sportswear, Horst Dassler. The IOC had given Dassler, as the driving force

¹⁸⁶ Rule 40 states that the host city would be liable for any loss incurred in the process of hosting the Olympic games. By relaxing these rules the IOC presented the LAOOC with the opportunity to pursue alternative sources of funding. IOC, *The Olympic Charter* (Lausanne 1992) p.62

¹⁸⁷ Gruneau, R., in Tomlinson, A. and Whannel G. *Five Ring Circus* p.10

¹⁸⁸ BOA, *BOA Information Pack* p.34

¹⁸⁹ Many of these facilities had been originally built for the 1932 Los Angeles Games.

¹⁹⁰ Lawrence, G. and Rowe, D. (Eds) *Power Play: Essays in the Sociology of Australian Sport* (Sydney 1986) p.205

behind TOP, the remit to establish a diversified and manageable revenue base for both the Olympic Games and the wider Olympic movement. His idea was to centralise all of the marketing for the Olympic Games in an attempt to gain greater control over the whole licensing process. The TOP sponsors were all to be multinational corporations who, in return for their significant financial support,¹⁹¹ were granted exclusive global marketing rights for their products, particularly within the relevant sector of the marketplace.¹⁹² This exclusivity was to be the key to the success of the new revenue system as involvement with the Olympic brand was made increasingly attractive. Indeed, it also secured for sponsors the right to utilise and display all Olympic symbols throughout the duration of a particular Olympic Games, for the purpose of advertising and promotion. TOP now runs concurrently with the 4-yearly period that corresponds to an Olympiad.¹⁹³ It is worth remembering that the IOC retains all rights to Olympic symbols and designations after each Olympic Games, and therefore has exclusive rights to offer potential sponsors. The wider marketing programme undertaken by the IOC was supported by global advertising and public relations initiatives, which drew together all sponsors as ‘preferred supporters’ or ‘global partners’ of the Olympic movement.

Initially, in the Los Angeles experience, there was a certain amount of dispute over the terms of the agreements and what exactly sponsors were getting for their considerable outlay. Subsequently, there was also protracted negotiation required to ascertain the way that the income was to be distributed within the Olympic movement. A solution was finalised upon whereby the revenues generated in this way were to be shared out. According to the agreed formula TOP revenues are allocated as follows: 70% to the organising committees (of both Summer and Winter Games), 20% to the NOCs with the final 10% earmarked for the IOC.¹⁹⁴ Notably the ISFs do not receive any funds directly from this source. However, the IOC’s proportion of the revenues generated by the staging of the Olympic Games was to be further divided into equal amounts between the three

¹⁹¹ Ibid p.206 The sponsors provided revenues ranging from \$4m-\$15m in exchange for being involved in TOP

¹⁹² Hill, C. in, L.Allison, L. (Ed) The Changing Politics of Sport p.98

¹⁹³ Lawrence, G. and Rowe, D. Power Play p.208

¹⁹⁴ BOA , BOA Information Pack p.23

main branches of the Olympic movement,¹⁹⁵ which of course includes the ISFs, NOCs and IOC. In fact the ISFs get an unfavourable deal from the division of central marketing revenues given the importance of this branch of the Olympic movement to the Olympic Games. Perhaps this has acted as a motivating factor for individual ISFs to establish and promote their own World Championships in non-Olympic years.

Increasingly, the freedom and expansion of operational finances throughout the latter half of the twentieth century has opened IOC membership up to others who would not have been able to subsidise their own involvement. This has meant that the organisation has slowly changed in terms of its composition and demographics. Despite the growth in popularity and success of Olympic gatherings over the last fifty years, the IOC has laid itself open to criticism of the sums of money now held by the organisation. Furthermore, unlike other organisations that claim to be accountable and democratic, the IOC is not forthcoming with details of the sums involved in this spectacular financial turnaround. The image of the IOC as an undemocratic, unrepresentative, Eurocentric and unaccountable organisation controlling the direction of the Olympic movement is something that it has long attempted to distance itself from. This is clearly a deliberate process within the Olympic movement. The very fact that there is not universal freedom of access to official information or details of the IOC's accounts would suggest that the organisation is a few steps away from genuine openness, no matter what the IOC's public relations system would have us believe.

(v) Educating for the Future.

The primary means by which the Olympic movement attempts to achieve this is through the International Olympic Academy (IOA), held at the ancient Greek site of Olympia. The various annual sessions bring together students, athletes, educators, journalists, policy-makers and administrators in an attempt to promote Olympic discourse and re-emphasise organisational ideals. Patently, the linking of the processes of information dissemination and education at the IOA is vital for the continuing importance of Olympism to the Olympic movement. In fact the importance of Olympism to IOA

¹⁹⁵ Ibid p.25

proceedings cannot be overestimated. Ian Jobling sums up the centrality of Olympism to the Olympic movement, whilst illustrating the inherently vague and yet somehow desirable traits associated with the Olympic philosophy in his address to the IOA's 33rd summer session in 1993.

In this modern world, so full of powerful possibilities and yet threatened by so many risks of degeneration, Olympism may be a school of moral nobility and purity as well as of physical endurance and energy; but only on condition that you continually raise your conceptions of honour and sporting disinterestedness to the height of your muscular strength.¹⁹⁶

In fact it was Juan Antonio Samaranch, current President of the IOC, who while addressing the IOA's 33rd summer session at Olympia stated that the IOA was: "The spiritual centre of Olympism".¹⁹⁷ The IOA was opened in 1961, and was immediately recognised as an ideal means of promoting Olympic values and of educating future generations of Olympic administrators.¹⁹⁸ The idea had first been proposed some twenty-five years previously by Carl Diem, who had been an influential member of the organising committee for the Berlin Olympic Games of 1936. He organised a study programme at that Olympic gathering which was to be the blueprint for the eventual incorporation of the IOA.¹⁹⁹

Initially it was a makeshift gathering of mainly Olympic administrators, however, it was soon to widen its appeal. Students, academics, athletes and administrators were brought together primarily to debate and discuss Olympism and the future of the Olympic movement. Situated on a site overlooking the ancient arenas of Greek antiquity, the IOA was seen as providing an invaluable opportunity to instill and invoke in those present the aspects of ancient Greece and its associated teachings that could have relevance for the future of the Olympic movement. Delegates who have attended IOA sessions have described the proceedings as follows: "...important, unique, meaningful, ethereal and

¹⁹⁶ Jobling, I., in IOA 33rd Summer Session Proceedings p.140

¹⁹⁷ Samaranch, J. in IOA 33rd Summer Session Proceedings p.30

¹⁹⁸ Ibid p.31

¹⁹⁹ Ibid p.34

informative”.²⁰⁰ The IOA sessions have gone from strength to strength, with the overwhelming majority of attendees believing it to be a truly positive and beneficial experience. (Each year the academy plays host to hundreds of visitors who attend for a period of anywhere from two days to six weeks.) The blend of Greek mythology, famous former Olympians and the fact that there is often a lack of contentious discussion, creates a comfortable and carefully managed environment for the transmission of the Olympic message. This element of the operation of the Olympic movement plays an important role even if it does little to challenge the IOC and the Olympic status quo.

The role of the IOA is crucial to the IOC as it allows the organisation not only to get feedback from those academics, sportsmen and students that attend, but because it also provides the organisation with an opportunity to disseminate its message to those assembled. It is doubtful whether any proposed attendees who are openly critical of the Olympic movement or the IOC would be necessarily welcome at the IOA. Interestingly, in recent years, the Olympic movement has taken full advantage of its role as controller of the Olympic image by seeking control over the educational role and dissemination of information about the Olympics and the Olympic movement on the Internet.²⁰¹ This process of preaching to the converted, where both the speaker and the audience are screened for their suitability, creates a problem for the IOC as the wider Olympic movement risks becoming increasingly introverted and detached. If this is the case then the claims that the organisation is unaccountable and self-perpetuating certainly seem to hold some weight.

Conclusion.

The emphasis upon creating a cogent and significantly less fragmented and compartmentalised Olympic organisation, than has been the case in the past, is clearly identified by the subjects under discussion so far. The need to reaffirm the Olympic philosophy, and therefore preserve the structure of the Olympic movement for the future, appears to be another definite aim of the annual IOA sessions. Whether the IOA exerts a

²⁰⁰ Ibid pp.34-5

²⁰¹ Wheatly, K. 'IOC hopes to profit from tangled Web' Sunday Times 8/2/1998

significant enough influence upon the power structure of the Olympic movement to affect change remains unlikely. However, as a focus for the re-establishment of a common bond for many within, and associated with the Olympic movement, its role is far more important.

Were it not for the projection of such an image to such a receptive audience, and the ease with which such lofty ideals are both communicated and accepted at such gatherings, it is debatable whether the Olympic movement could be perceived - from within - to be as healthy as it is. The IOC rightly concentrates upon educating young people to secure the future of the Olympic Games and the wider Olympic movement. However, if certain contentious issues are not addressed in the medium term, it might not be so clear what form the Olympic Games will develop into in the longer term. No amount of education will be sufficient to prevent serious damage to the Olympic image in that case. The tendency for the IOC to continue to react slowly to problems that challenge the image of the Olympic movement would suggest that these issues continue to have an unsettling effect. It is worth remembering that the IOC was incorporated at the end of the last century as a non-profit organisation, and that up until the last twenty years it had experienced definite financial hardship. This is certainly not the case nowadays. Indeed, the early members of the IOC had to be independently wealthy in order to be involved.

Furthermore, the IOC's and the wider Olympic movement's aims have not been necessarily easy to realise despite the freedom accorded by the growth in revenues. It is extremely unlikely - unless serious challenging discourse is encouraged both within the proceedings of the IOA and the wider Olympic movement - that the future of the organisation and its ability to achieve its goals, will be neither certain nor prosperous. There is a definite possibility that unless greater openness is introduced, the very issues and developments that have the potential to threaten the future viability and purity of the Olympic Games will be skirted around and not dealt with directly. If the image of the Olympic Games is tarnished in the short term by such issues, then the aftermath might well be considerably more difficult to manage.

Chapter 3

FOR THE GOOD OF THE GAMES..? HOW THE IOC PRESIDENTS HAVE SHAPED THE ORGANISATIONAL IMAGE..

The supreme authority of the Olympic movement is the International Olympic Committee. The officeholder of the presidency acts as a figurehead for both the IOC, and the wider Olympic movement. The President's role, however, has not merely been one where the officeholder is a ceremonial figure. This section will show how the differing motives, agendas and personalities of those holding the post have influenced the direction and character of the Olympic movement and its showcase, the Olympic Games. This chapter is crucial from a historical point of reference as it seeks to establish how the individual IOC Presidents and certain influential members have determined the organisational direction. Undoubtedly the leaders of the organisation throughout its history have brought their own individual styles of management to bear. It is envisaged that, by concentrating on the role of the various IOC presidents, this analysis will facilitate a fresh evaluation of the policy agenda of the organisation and its internal dynamics.

This chapter also serves as a means for examining the increasing growth and importance of media comment and generally how the IOC have related to the media over time. Wherever relevant, a particular President's relationship with the media will act as a point of reference. This will provide a useful preliminary analysis for an examination of the key individuals who have affected the Olympic authorities' dealings with the media. This remains an essential juxtaposition for the entirety of the thesis. After considering each presidency in chronological order, conclusions will establish the context in which Olympic organisations generally began a more deliberate process of the control of official information. The burgeoning of new media technologies in the post-Second World War era significantly affected this dynamic. It should be re-iterated that the purpose of this chapter is to introduce the notion of a developing relationship between the individuals within the IOC and the expanding and increasingly sophisticated media forms. While it is

necessary to mention such change here, a more complete analysis of technological developments within the media are dealt with more fully in the next chapter.

The role of the president within the wider Olympic dynamic has developed and expanded, as a result of the influence of those individuals who have held the position, rather than from any grand design. That is not to say that there was no clear vision for the organisation. As has already been discussed in Chapter 2, the French aristocrat Baron Pierre de Coubertin is the recognised founder of the modern Olympic Games. Indeed, it was his long-nurtured vision that shaped the early direction of the organisation. As he came from a privileged, aristocratic background, Baron de Coubertin had spent much of his life before the revival of the Olympic Games travelling and studying the educational systems within the US and the UK.²⁰² In doing so he gained crucial international links for his vision of the sporting future. So, it is Pierre de Coubertin as an educator and a tireless administrator that gives us a specific idea as to the emphasis of the IOC in the early years of the Olympic movement.

(i) The Early Years: 1894 – 1936.

There have been seven different IOC presidents throughout the history of the modern Olympic movement.²⁰³ The first holder of presidential office was a Greek confidant of Pierre de Coubertin, Demetrius Vikelas who was president from 1894 to the end of the first modern Olympic Games staged in Athens, Greece in 1896.²⁰⁴ As the head of the fledgling organisation, Vikelas's role was initially unclear. Effectively the Olympic movement at that time was driven by the ambition of Pierre de Coubertin, while Vikelas seemed to concentrate more upon filling the position of President rather than actually developing the position in any definite sense. Nevertheless, the involvement of Vikelas

²⁰² MacAloon, J. *This Great Symbol* pp.58-68 and pp.113-127

²⁰³ Berlioux, M., in Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) *The Olympic Games* pp.29-31 (NB – Baron Godffroy de Blonay acted as interim IOC president, for administrative purposes, during World War One.)

²⁰⁴ Hill, C. *Olympic Politics* (Manchester 1996) p.21

was a crucial indication of the debt owed by de Coubertin's revival movement to the ancient Greek tradition of athletic games and contests of antiquity.²⁰⁵

During this period, it was more important that the IOC had someone who could fill the post of president, as well as assist in establishing administrative procedures, rather than have a proactive policy maker driving the movement forward. Vikelas' initial role was to act akin to a committee Chairman, while the parameters of the position was still being established. However, Vikelas did play an important role in developing the basic Olympic administrative structures that were in place during this period.²⁰⁶ Despite his effectiveness in such matters, Vikelas was destined not to be president for very long as Baron de Coubertin was soon to take over the position himself. The emphasis placed by Baron de Coubertin on the establishment of early Olympic structures was a thoroughly pragmatic one, whereby organisational flexibility was the key to establishing future effective practices and procedures for the Olympic movement. This point will be revisited periodically throughout this chapter.

Structurally and organisationally speaking, it is noteworthy that Coubertin viewed the IOC members as 'trustees' of the Olympic movement from the very beginning. This status was established by the official desire for the separation of national and Olympic interests. IOC members were viewed in the Olympic Charter as Olympic representatives in their nation's territories rather than vice versa.²⁰⁷ While this was an important distinction in the early years, it subsequently became less important in a practical sense. The attendant idea of political neutrality associated with the status of IOC members gradually became increasingly rare. Specific political considerations as well as the global reach of the festival were important elements in the image and character of a given Olympic Games, during the early period.

²⁰⁵ It is important to recognise the re-invention of a particular tradition. Pierre de Coubertin saw this initiative as vital for the future security and direction of the movement. MacAloon, J. This Great Symbol pp.179-180

²⁰⁶ Ibid pp.182-3

²⁰⁷ Guttmann, A. The Olympics p.15

Baron Pierre de Coubertin held the office of President throughout the period between late 1896 and 1925. During this time, the fledgling Olympic movement experienced an uncertain beginning.²⁰⁸ The initial ‘honeymoon’ associated with the Athens games of 1896, had worn off and the movement was not flourishing as Coubertin had intended. As noted previously in Chapter 1, the games of Paris in 1900 and St.Louis in 1904 were very problematic for the Olympic authorities to the detriment of the Olympic movement and its message.²⁰⁹ For Baron de Coubertin this was clearly his most difficult period in office. The practicalities of staging the Olympic Games, and the pageantry associated with the event, were still significantly below the levels that he had hoped to achieve.²¹⁰ He began to focus more specifically on trying to secure the future of the Olympic movement at a more basic level. He did this by simplifying the organisational operations and clearly stating primary operational aims, namely the successful celebration of the Olympic Games. It is noteworthy in the context of the juxtaposition between the Olympic authorities and efforts at image projection, when Guttmann states that for Baron de Coubertin; “... these years were also a period of intense propagandistic activity”.²¹¹

It was during this period that the fledgling organisation considered the idea of Greece as a permanent site for the Olympic Games. Despite strong feelings from the Greeks, the IOC later rejected the proposal. It was thought that such a move would conflict directly with the organisation’s fundamental universal aims.²¹² Continuing the analytical development of this thesis, the official linking of sporting competition to the Olympic philosophy of Olympism was established from the very beginning. Baron de Coubertin was at pains to stress the unique values associated with the Olympic sporting festival. However, it is evident from early news reports that there was limited early success in disseminating any idealised image of Olympic competition.

²⁰⁸ De Coubertin, P. The Olympic Idea (Stuttgart 1966) p.80

²⁰⁹ Guttmann, A. The Olympics pp.21-26

²¹⁰ Ibid pp.23-26

²¹¹ Ibid p.28

²¹² MacAloon, J. This Great Symbol pp.243-244

Despite the best efforts of those within the Olympic movement, the organisation seemed, at this stage, to be doomed to failure. Ultimately, it survived largely as a result of Baron de Coubertin's decision to minimise the aims and operations of the Olympic movement. Having had an operational re-emphasis, the Olympic movement was still in need of a more stable base as well as a more definitive ideological underpinning. If this issue had not been recognised soon, then the problem of the Olympics being perceived as just another multi-sports event would have been very difficult to circumvent. This is an early example of the centrality of the philosophy of Olympism to the information dissemination process and how it has subsequently been used to determine the organisational direction for the Olympic movement. Indeed, it was Coubertin in his role as an educator who recognized the potential value of the philosophy to, as he put it, 'bring together peoples and nations from across the globe'.²¹³

Significantly, the period between 1904 and 1912 was characterised by two very important initiatives being taken at an organisational level. Firstly, as the Olympic Games became better organised, future hosts began to learn valuable lessons from the successes, issues and shortcomings experienced by of their predecessors when they staged the Games.²¹⁴ Secondly, the unofficial 'Intercalary' 1906 games in Athens served to establish more clearly the philosophy of Olympism and the wider philosophical values of the Olympic Games which sets the festival apart from other sporting events.²¹⁵ The formal recognition and cementing of the values associated with Olympism in terms of establishing a coherent message, occurred by re-establishing the link to ancient Greek tradition. Regarding the generation of the official image, little official acknowledgement is given to the value of the 1906 festival, from either a philosophical or organisational perspective. Nevertheless, it is clear that at this point the Olympic ideals had not been disseminated beyond the realm of elitist games. While the popular appeal of the games themselves was limited, the Olympic authorities sought to address this by further exposing their official message via the media. While this shift cannot be attributed to one

²¹³ De Coubertin, P. The Olympic Idea, p.130

²¹⁴ Noel-Baker, P. in Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. The Olympic Games pp.63-64

²¹⁵ Young, D. The Modern Olympics p.166

single catalyst or event, the Olympics now began to enjoy more extensive and favourable coverage in the print media.

The festival increasingly began to capture the public's interest despite, or it can be argued because of, the occasional undercurrent of rivalry spilling over into conflict. An example of this was the tension between the US and the UK at the London Olympic Games of 1908. In this case, a dispute related to the rules and practices employed in sporting competition had threatened to spill over into the diplomatic arena.²¹⁶ The significant issue is the angle taken by the print media reports. Although the events were reported as serious enough to stir political and diplomatic overtones, there was a sense of restraint on the part of the media. The criticism that did exist focused upon the sporting protagonists and the local judges. However, even indirectly, the reporting of the Olympic movement's difficulties clearly influenced the public perception of the Olympic movement. This is especially significant in the light of the IOC's reliance upon Olympism as their ideal. It is noteworthy that the majority of the press remained largely favourable and positive towards the Olympic movement when reporting on the Olympic Games during this period. The event was now becoming increasingly newsworthy. It should be recognised that the ability of the Olympic movement to come together afresh every four years for the celebration of the Olympic Games with a clean slate remains a central aspect of their pragmatic approach. Invariably, any difficulties that occurred at a particular Olympic festival tended to stick to the image of the host-city rather than that of the Olympic authorities.

The 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm were the next important festival in the historical development of the Olympic movement. These were the first Olympic Games whereby the events were staged in an effective yet relatively uncontroversial fashion. The Swedish organising committee was widely praised as the effective management and organisation of the gathering provided a model for subsequent Olympic hosts. The gathering became recognised by Baron de Coubertin via official information channels as

²¹⁶ Matthews, G. 'The controversial Olympic Games of 1908...', in *Journal of Sport History* (Summer 1980) pp.42-49

the best Olympic Games so far.²¹⁷ However, the new and positive internationalist mood soon darkened significantly as Europe began to slip into open warfare during 1914, with the future structure of the Olympic movement and the role of both Olympic ideology and policy uncertain.

When Coubertin took the highly significant step of relocating the IOC headquarters from Paris to Lausanne in Switzerland, he established a degree of political neutrality for the Olympic movement. This was a move that he envisaged as invaluable in securing the organisation's future.²¹⁸ Furthermore, Baron de Coubertin reaffirmed that the primary short-term objective of the IOC would be the continued celebration of the Olympic Games every four years.²¹⁹ While this may seem unimportant at first glance, it is indicative of the basic organisational emphasis for IOC policy and practice during the period through to 1939. The majority of the subsequent problems that plagued the Olympic movement throughout the 1960s first became prominent during this period up to the outbreak of the Second World War. In fact, the organisation took little account of, and even less action over, the potential of external social and cultural factors to effect structural and philosophical change in the years following the end of the First World War.

The 1920 Olympic Games in Antwerp was an emotive celebration following the cessation of hostilities in 1918. Tremendous efforts were made by the organisers, including a 1919 visit to Lausanne from IOC member Henri de Baillet-Latour, in order to confirm the progress of the bid and the status of the host's arrangements.²²⁰ Crucially the Antwerp Games of 1920 provided the Olympic movement with a fresh start, allowing the organisation to reassert its values and message. This was the ideal as far as Baron de Coubertin was concerned, as he still sought to further strengthen and secure the practical foundations and role of the organisation. He envisaged that the Olympic movement

²¹⁷ Noel-Baker, P., in Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) The Olympic Games p.65

²¹⁸ Berlioux, M. in Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) The Olympic Games p.26

²¹⁹ Pierre de Coubertin recognised the difficulties that were affecting the success of the Olympic Games. In many ways they were related to a lack of standardisation in the rules, practices and procedures. By establishing a regular celebration of the Games it is then possible to affect change within the movement.

²²⁰ Renson, R. The Games Reborn: The VIIIth Olympiad, Antwerp 1920 p.91

would become an important part of a new and more internationalised world, promoting peace and understanding.

To celebrate the Olympic Games is to appeal to history. To ask the peoples of the world to respect one another is not in the least utopian, but in order to respect one another it is first necessary to know one another. Universal history is the only genuine foundation for a genuine peace.²²¹

In terms of future IOC leaders it is interesting that Henri de Baillet-Latour was instrumental in overseeing the effective planning and staging of the 1920 Olympic Games. Baillet-Latour, a junior IOC member, came from a privileged background and soon became one of Pierre de Coubertin's closest confidants. His traditional stance on a number of pressing policy issues also endeared him to many other Olympic administrators.

Importantly for the IOC, the Olympic movement now seemed to be more popular with the public following the First World War. Observers at the time reasoned that this was due to the basic organisational goals reaffirming the feeling of reconciliation and celebration.²²² However, this growing awareness has to be kept in perspective, as the majority of the general population was still only vaguely interested in the Olympic Games and its message. Consequently, a more general and subtle shift in the popularity and reach of the organisation, linked to the wider dissemination of Olympism and its associated message, influenced the development of the whole Olympic movement over the period from 1918 to 1939. In 1924, the Olympic Games returned to Paris, as Baron de Coubertin had long wished that France would host the Games again. Baron de Coubertin was now very comfortable with the media forms of the day and embraced the opportunity to use radio to promote the Olympic message. Following the austerity of Antwerp in 1920, the Paris games resulted in the setting of a number of new performance records and saw the levels of participation increase. This occurred in terms of both overall competitors and in the expansion of Olympic sports competition for women.²²³ The

²²¹ De Coubertin, P. The Olympic Idea p.134

²²² Renon, R. The Games Reborn p.91

²²³ Guttmann, A. The Olympics pp.46-47

media now accepted the growing importance of the Olympic phenomenon. However, a large proportion of coverage was still coloured by national or editorial agendas.

The image of an awkward and incompetent Olympic movement, struggling to gain the public's attention and confidence, was gradually being dispelled. Notably, at this stage it was not part of any deliberate, ongoing process of image management on the part of the IOC, although Coubertin clearly recognised the benefits of closely co-operating with the world's press. Furthermore, this process cannot be identified as being initiated by any single structural agent of change. Rather, the ability of the Olympic Games to provide a constant and regular focus for the collective celebration and reinforcement of common positive values increasingly allowed the event to hold the public's attention. Gradually, the attendant philosophy became more generally accessible, and more widely disseminated to the general public. Pierre de Coubertin in his role as president encountered the usual breadth of problematic issues. Nevertheless, his period in office ultimately allowed the Olympic Games to develop in a way that would endear the Games to the widest possible audience, as they and their message became firmly established components of the international sportscape. Importantly, regarding the promotion of an agreed official image, it was the central position of the Olympic philosophy that served to set the Olympic Games apart from other multi-sports events and organisations with similar international agendas. Coubertin used both public platforms and the media to reassert the message and values associated with the Olympic movement. This constant process of nurturing a positive, coherent image is certainly in many ways a deliberate act of image management.

Comte Henri de Baillet-Latour from Belgium was the son of Count Ferdinand de Baillet-Latour, a governor of the province of Antwerp from 1908-1912. His initial experience in Olympic administration and international sport came when he assisted in the organisation of the Brussels IOC Congress in 1905.²²⁴ Furthermore, he had been an important actor in the institutional development of sport within Belgium during the early

²²⁴ Buschmann, J. 'Henri de Baillet-Latour: The President of Preservation' Conference Paper at 7th IOA Postgraduate session Olympia, 1999 (Unpublished) p.1

twentieth century. After close involvement in the Antwerp games of 1920, his standing and influence within the fledgling Olympic movement grew. Belgium's success at staging the 1920 Olympic Games, (as well as the role of individuals within the Olympic organising committee) could not be forgotten by the IOC, or by Baron de Coubertin. In 1925, Baillet-Latour was elected president of the IOC and held this office through to 1942.²²⁵ Throughout his tenure, he was a fervent legislator who refined many IOC procedures and structures. Although neither an educator nor philosopher, he was an enthusiastic sportsman and a keen horseman.²²⁶ As an advocate of the Olympic status quo, he was viewed by many within the organisation as the ideal man for the job of continuing to strengthen the organisation.

Despite Baillet-Latour's high standing within the Olympic structures he was occasionally inflexible, often to the cost of the Olympic movement and its image. Among other issues, the thorny and ultimately unresolved matter of a definitive set of eligibility criteria to apply to the amateur code provided conflict and tension throughout his entire presidency.²²⁷ A particularly significant issue for Baillet-Latour during his time in office was a tense dispute over the form of the Olympic football competition. This related to the practices of participants, and whether or not they conformed to the amateur ethos.²²⁸ This point related to the details of competition for events caused a power struggle between the Olympic movement and FIFA, prior to the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam. This ultimately led, in 1930, to the establishment of the first FIFA World Cup Football tournament in Uruguay as an alternative to Olympic competition.²²⁹ This is an early indication of open structural tensions between the Olympic movement and the ISFs. While the tensions of 1928 were not repeated, this remains a crucial issue for the Olympic movement, related to the parameters and spheres of influence of each of the main organisational authorities, even to this day.

²²⁵ Renson, R. The Games Reborn p.91

²²⁶ Ibid p.66

²²⁷ Buschmann, J. 'Henri de Baillet-Latour: The President of Preservation' Conference Paper at 7th IOA Postgraduate Session Olympia, 1999 (Unpublished) p.2

²²⁸ Ibid p.3 See also Glader E. Amateurism and Athletics (New York 1978) pp.129-137

²²⁹ Senn, A. Power Politics and the Olympic Games p.10

At a more fundamental level, conflict between the organisation's internal structures, especially those related to the definite parameters and scope of particular Olympic authorities was not effectively tackled and was therefore perpetuated. Determining the specific roles and scope of the three main branches of the Olympic movement within the framework of the central Olympic philosophy of Olympism was crucial. Interestingly, this internal pressure remained within Olympic organisational dynamics, throughout the rest of the twentieth century, as there was little coherent policy effort to establish working practice at this stage.²³⁰ Throughout the 1930s, Baillet-Latour was to face other difficult and testing issues. These ranged from organisational practice and procedural details to the influence of politics on the structure of the Olympic movement. More specifically, those problematic structural issues included whether it was the IOC or the ISFs who controlled the sports practised at the Olympic Games. Furthermore, questions remained as to whether the problems associated with the continued unfettered growth of the Olympic Games as a festival could be effectively managed.²³¹ The propaganda associated with Berlin in 1936 and the collusion of the Olympic movement with their hosts is not an episode that the Olympic authorities remember with particular fondness.

Regarding the later development of this thesis it is necessary to establish the state of the delivery system that existed for the presentation of the Olympic message. The inter-war years had been characterised by a huge growth in new media technologies, and especially by access to these innovations becoming more generally widespread. Newspapers and the print media were still the frontrunners in terms of market share, however, radio and wireless telegraphy had added to this by creating far more immediate media forms. The radio itself became increasingly popular although few but the wealthy could afford to buy a set. The development of crystal sets meant that with a bit of knowledge, amateur enthusiasts could build their own receivers.²³² Newsreels also added to the growth of popular media forms, by relaying news to cinema audiences. As the

²³⁰ McDonald, G., in: Barney, R., Martyn, S., Brown D. and McDonald, G. (Eds) Olympic Perspectives: 3rd International Symposium for Olympic Research (University of Western Ontario, October 1996) p.127

²³¹ Renson, R. The Games Reborn p.92

²³² Crisell, A. An Introductory History of British Broadcasting (London 1997) p.16

relationship between the new immediacy of the media and global events (both sporting and non-sporting) became closer and clearer, the need for control of official comment also grew. The popularity of these new media forms continued to develop up to 1939 and then again following the end of the Second World War.

In 1936 at the Berlin Olympic Games, more definite issues that related to the prevailing Nazi ideology became significant for the wider Olympic movement. More specifically, the treatment of German-Jewish athletes within their own country and the management of the national agendas of those nations such as the USA and the UK caused significant organisational tensions and difficulties.²³³ The use of the Olympic festival to provide a backdrop for the promotion of the Nazi agenda was abhorrent yet also very illuminating for many both inside and outside the Olympic structures. The global exposure enjoyed by the events at the Olympic games provided an ideal means of communicating their official message.

The Nazi party in Germany had viewed the assistance of President Baillet-Latour as the most effective means of gaining greater control and influence over the Olympic movement. The evidence for him being in any way sympathetic to their cause is unclear. Clearly he was highly motivated in his attempts to diffuse any tensions that might exist throughout the organisational stages, and therefore to ensure maximum participation at the Olympic Games. This is a good example of the pragmatic approach taken by many IOC Presidents regarding the stated international goals of the Olympic movement. The conservative emphasis of his presidency, and his desire to be as inclusive as possible, clearly aided the Olympic movement in its short-term expansionist goals, despite the Nazi regime indirectly benefiting from this inclusiveness. Undoubtedly, in Henri Baillet-Latour the Olympic movement had one of its great organisers, enthusiasts and pragmatists. He can be seen as having managed this period with a certain degree of grace and skill. Despite experiencing certain difficulties during his presidency, Baillet-Latour was viewed as being particularly influential in establishing further, common organisational practice. During his presidency, the primary goal was to stage the games

²³³ Wenn, S. 'A Tale of Two Diplomats...' in, *Journal of Sport History* (Spring 1989) pp.27-29

at any price. However, the neglecting of other difficult and testing issues had necessitated an ongoing and developing process of diplomatic moves to ensure Olympic participation by as many affiliated nations as possible. It was a theme that incorporated a striving towards internationalism within the most universal and widest interpretation of the Olympic philosophy.

Indeed, the most fundamental issue related to this period was whether the different branches of the Olympic movement would be able to overcome their differences to the benefit of the wider organization. This threatened to turn into an open struggle for power within Olympic organizations, related to conflicting interests, antagonistic terms of reference and the personal and national rivalries associated with the ISF and NOC delegates. Fearing disorder, the IOC decided to suspend the practice of holding Olympic Congresses soon after the Berlin gathering of 1930.²³⁴ This tension within the organisation is one that is primarily structural in origin. The three main branches of the Olympic movement had areas of direct conflict within their spheres of influence.²³⁵ However, the demands of the organisation now dictated that a more diverse and yet progressive emphasis be adopted by the Olympic movement as a whole.

(ii) Edstrom and the Cold War political vacuum.

A large, imposing figure, J.Sigfried Edstrom from Sweden presided over the IOC between 1946 and 1952. Throughout this difficult period following the end of the Second World War, diplomacy and ideology clashed, resulting in a precarious balancing act with national differences being heightened between East and West. This was due to the polarisation between the superpowers in the political environment of the Cold War. Significantly for the Olympic movement and its ambition of achieving a truly global reach during Edstrom's presidency, in 1951 the IOC accepted the nomination of Constantin Andrianov from the Soviet Union as their first member in that country.²³⁶ It is clear that the IOC still sought to expand and thereby ensure the widest possible

²³⁴ By the time of the Varna Congress of 1973, the structural issues were pressing enough to require immediate action. Senn, A. Power Politics and the Olympic Games p.13

²³⁵ Ibid p.13, and McDonald, G. 'Regime Themes and institutional dreams...', in Journal of Sport History p.134

participation at the Olympic Games. To make certain of this the Olympic organisations needed to placate and pander to both the United States and the Soviet Union.²³⁷ It was during this general period of tense, conflict diplomacy following the end of the Second World War, that the NOCs in some countries became increasingly used for the purpose of developing sport for a particular nation's political ends. On occasion, a nation's NOC would also act according to that nation's particular foreign policy agenda.²³⁸ The inherent tension between the IOC, the NOCs, the ISFs and the individual agendas of other groups within the Olympic mix, remains part of the organisational dynamic of the Olympic Games and the wider Olympic movement. Any political undercurrent that heightens any existing Olympic divisions or tensions can only be destructive in the longer-term.

Despite the apparent gloom and tension following the Second World War, the next Olympic Games were held in London in 1948. Staged both frugally and efficiently, especially given the context of the rebuilding programme following the devastation caused by the preceding conflict,²³⁹ these games were viewed as very successful by the Olympic movement. The problems related to these Olympic Games were less to do with the politics associated with this period, than those structural issues that were to plague subsequent years. Edstrom's presidency was a very solid and dependable period of adaptation and progress for the Olympic organisations. It was a period when the Olympic movement emerged from the devastation of war stronger than it had been before. However, the severity of the bureaucratic and structural issues that would affect the movement over later years had not yet been fully recognised. In many cases the opportunity to act to remedy those difficulties had already passed by. The Olympic movement had survived the testing period following the massive upheaval of the Second World War, and had again established a position for itself in the new and re-established international order. It is worth mentioning, at this stage, the growing importance of Avery

²³⁶ Senn, A. *Power, Politics and the Olympic Games* pp.92-93

²³⁷ Letter From Constantin Andrianov to Avery Brundage 5/5/1952 Box 112, USSR Proposal for IOC re-organisation and Brundage, A. 'From Helsinki to Lausanne', Speech given by President Avery Brundage when accepting the keys of office of the IOC from Ex-president J.Sigfrid Edstrom. Lausanne, 14/8/1952 Box 50, Who's Who in the Olympics in, ABC at U of I

²³⁸ See: Houlihan, B. *The Government and Politics of Sport* (London 1991), and Lapchick, R. 'A Political History of the Modern Olympic Games', in Journal of Sport and Social Issues Vol.2 No.1 (Spring/Summer 1978)

Brundage within the Olympic movement. A senior IOC member in the US, and USOC representative, he was slowly being groomed for a senior role within the IOC Executive Board, and later the presidency itself. He was a significant actor in ensuring US participation at the 1936 Olympics and was recognised as a traditionally conservative as well as an experienced sport administrator.

(iii) The Last American Amateur?

Born in 1900, Avery Brundage was a former American decathlete who had participated in the Stockholm Olympic Games of 1912.²⁴⁰ As president of the IOC he held office between 1952 and 1972 and experienced a constantly changing sporting environment. He was a fervent defender of the notion of amateurism at the Olympic Games and strictly followed the initial guidelines as identified for the Olympic movement by Pierre de Coubertin.²⁴¹ The global social and political order was changing and yet it seems that the Olympic movement was far from flexible despite contrary organisational pretensions. Brundage was fully aware of how a sporting event's character changed with the acceptance and accommodation of commercial values.²⁴² From the beginning of his term in office, he sought, almost Canute-like, to push back the waves of commercialism and professionalism that were becoming increasingly influential upon both the sporting reality as well as Olympic matters.²⁴³ Brundage continuously experienced tension over his stance on the issue of eligibility and his support for the associated IOC policy related to the amateur ethos.

Despite his traditional approach this was the first presidency of the television age, with huge improvements in a wide range of communications technology. The increased immediacy and speed of the new media operation, as well as the more frequent exposure of the Olympic image via logos and symbols, necessitated a coherent and consistent official policy. This policy would primarily be to ensure official control of the rights to

²³⁹ Senn, A. *Power, Politics and the Olympic Games* pp.80-81

²⁴⁰ Guttmann, A. *The Games Must Go On* p.23

²⁴¹ Ibid preface x

²⁴² However, it should be noted that he also recognised the need to explore new organisational revenue streams. Ibid pp.215-219

Olympic symbols and to secure the future development of the Olympic Games. His relationship with the increasingly influential global media interests was never very comfortable, a fact that was to become all too apparent. Indeed, it can be argued that an operational reliance upon Olympism and the preservation of the Olympic status quo held back the development of the Olympic movement at this stage. This is especially the case, in terms of the incorporation of a pragmatic approach to the process of information dissemination. The actual emphasis of Brundage's presidency provides further evidence for this.

In 1956, Brundage fuelled a row with the Melbourne OCOG after he perceived a lack of progress in the preparations for the Games, including the equestrian events having to be re-sited in Stockholm, due to strict Australian quarantine regulations. This caused some disquiet within the IOC, as this was the first time that the Olympic Games were to be held in two different countries.²⁴⁴ The IOC was keen to downplay the significance of this precedent. Despite the situation regarding the staging of the games being eventually resolved, Brundage had sought alternative host sites given the scenario that the Australians could not stage the Games satisfactorily. Correspondence within the IOC shows how seriously the wider Olympic movement viewed this issue.²⁴⁵ The Australian print media in particular were vitriolic in their condemnation of Brundage in the preceding period especially at what they saw as his 'interfering attitude' in their plans to stage the Olympic Games.²⁴⁶ Political conflict and tension also surrounded the 1956 Olympics as Soviet relations with its eastern-European neighbours deteriorated rapidly. Their recent invasion of Hungary and the violent demonstrations voicing opposition to the Soviet action had created a general political undercurrent that was to affect the whole of the Olympic movement over the years ahead.

²⁴³ Wenn, S. 'An Olympian Squabble: The Distribution of Olympic Television Revenue 1960-66' in, Olympika - The International Journal of Olympic Studies Vol.3 (Univ. of Western Ontario 1994) p.27

²⁴⁴ This incident required the IOC to be flexible enough to change their rules, thereby making this course of action possible. Guttman, A. The Games Must go On p.160

²⁴⁵ Numerous correspondence between Avery Brundage, Hugh Weir (IOC Member in Australia), Lord Killanin, Lewis Luxton and Otto Mayer, in early 1956, on the preparations by the city of Melbourne and the IOC's media image, in Box 113, Meetings and Sessions: City Requirements and Box 107, Modern Olympic Games, 60th Anniversary ABC at U of I

At the Rome Olympics of 1960, there were significantly fewer problems of a diplomatic nature. However, tensions related to the 'two-Chinas question' did serve as an unwelcome backdrop to the organisation of the Olympic Games throughout the rest of the decade. Interestingly, from an image management stance, this noticeably detracted from the opening of the event, despite the IOC effectively managing, in public at least, to avoid getting embroiled in the issue.²⁴⁷ At each gathering, the efficiency of the hosts in staging the Games in a manner that was satisfactory to President Brundage, the IOC and the wider Olympic movement had led to extensive improvements in the events as a spectacle.

The general pace of technological development that had accompanied the Cold War period now allowed the festival to reach a live, global audience. Television and satellite technology had developed incredibly quickly. Less than 20 years after the end of the Second World War live pictures were being beamed across the globe - via the Telstar satellite - direct from the Summer Olympics of 1964 in Tokyo.²⁴⁸ Political considerations remained a factor for subsequent organising committees, although a degree of stability appears to be more evident. This is not to understate the importance of certain issues such as those related to both Chinese and Taiwanese affiliation to the Olympic movement. Indeed, both had sought official IOC recognition as China, which caused ongoing structural and diplomatic tension throughout the Cold War period. Ultimately the recognition of the People's Republic of China by the IOC meant that Taiwan was sidelined. While this was not the ideal, the Olympic family could now welcome the world's most populous nation into the fold.

The Mexico City Olympic Games of 1968 was a particularly trying gathering for both President Brundage and the Olympic movement. Firstly, the heavy-handed actions of the Mexican military in brutally quashing a student demonstration - to highlight the poverty that existed within the big-spending Olympic city - cast a shadow over proceedings even prior to the celebrations beginning. Another issue that was vital to the

²⁴⁶ Associated Press, 'Clown? No! Avery Tells Australians' in, Chicago Daily News 28/7/1956

²⁴⁷ Guttman, A. The Games Must Go On p.167

²⁴⁸ The broadcast reached 39 countries worldwide. Whannel, G., in Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Five Ring Circus p.34

ethos of equality of competition related to whether the Games were adversely affected by the performances of athletes when competing at altitude. This provided a further focal point for debate and discussion. However, these Games are primarily remembered for the 'black power' salute on the victory podium by the US 200m sprinters, John Carlos and Tommy Smith. This episode highlighted how certain groups with a particular agenda could use the Olympic arena to convey their message to the growing, global television audience. Their display resulted in the suspension of both athletes by the USOC, as Brundage fumed.²⁴⁹ The civil rights of black-American athletes would remain a significant issue throughout the 1970s, indeed for black athletes of many nations it soon took on a more significant global-political dimension at the 1976 Montreal Olympics.

The amateurism issue also came to a head at the Winter Olympics in 1968. Karl Schranz, an Austrian downhill skier, was banned from competing in the Winter Olympic Games by the IOC president, after a controversy surrounding the display of sponsorship logos on clothing worn by Olympic competitors.²⁵⁰ The protection of the Olympic arena from sponsors and commercial advertising is an issue that had long concerned the IOC, as the rights to the Olympic symbols remain closely guarded. Those symbols provide an example of the link between Olympism and the sanctity of ancient competitions that weighs heavily upon the traditional stance. The Olympic movement therefore used Olympism and its associated high ideals for the projection of a favourable image when it has been convenient and beneficial for them to do so. Amateurism at the Summer Olympic Games remained just as divisive despite there being fewer clear examples of the regulations being flouted, and the authorities being forced to take action.

Despite the problems encountered at the 1968 Olympic Games, few could imagine the horrifying scenes that were to surround the next Olympic gathering in Munich. The Games of 1972 were set to be Avery Brundage's swansong in the Olympic movement, but instead they showed how the Olympics could be used as a global media vehicle to promote a wholly repugnant agenda. The final unhappy period for Brundage as

²⁴⁹ Daley, A. '\$100,000 Reported Paid to Olympians for wearing brand shoes', in New York Times 14/2/72 see also, Miller, D. Olympic Revolution p.23

²⁵⁰ Koppett, L. 'Brundage: Games getting too big for ideals' in. New York Times 23/7/72

IOC president, with his press and public relations skills roundly called into question, is illustrated by the media's response to a press conference at the Munich Olympic Games of 1972. Following the killing by Palestinian terrorists of Israeli athletes and officials, after they had been kidnapped from the Olympic Village, Brundage stated that: "the Games must go on".²⁵¹

By the early 1970s he was perceived outside the immediate Olympic sphere as an ineffective leader of a problem-ridden organisation.²⁵² In fact, Brundage's successor, Lord Killanin, talks of the IOC only marking time up to the 1970s, so much so that this was to inhibit his own attempts at modernising the Olympic movement.²⁵³ It was due to his position as president of the IOC that Brundage's authority had not been challenged from within the Olympic movement itself. As a result of the conservative emphasis of his presidency, Brundage clearly provided a strong and certain foundation upon which the Olympic movement could build and develop for the future,²⁵⁴ but his inflexibility created significant pressure within Olympic structures. Crucially the organisation now sought a very different emphasis and direction. It needed to address some pressing issues for the reform of the organisation and its structures. Both recognising the need to adapt to a progressive climate, and to efficiently manage any new prosperity, was now very important for the whole Olympic movement.

The IOC and its president had managed to promote and nurture the Olympic movement into an increasingly successful international organisation. Efforts at ensuring the regular celebration of the Olympic Games, and the attendant benefit of a higher profile of sport in general were ongoing. The aim of the organisation to be a force for peace and understanding can be illustrated by the Olympics providing a metaphorical arena for the expression of conflict between nations. Indeed, it can be stated with some certainty that political and background tension also served to attract audiences and therefore the interest of the media to the Olympic Games. With this as background it is

²⁵¹ Guttman, A. *The Games Must Go On* p.254

²⁵² Lord Killanin, *My Olympic Years* (London 1983) p.20

²⁵³ Ibid p.20

²⁵⁴ Ibid p.158

possible to begin to evaluate the most prosperous era in the history of the Olympic movement.

(iv) Reform and Maturity

Michael Morris, Lord Killanin, served as IOC President between 1972 and 1980. He was viewed as being that bit more progressive than his predecessor by the members of the IOC. However, under the genial Irish Lord's Presidency, the IOC came to be viewed as being intransigent and even passive to external change.²⁵⁵ Unfortunately that state of the organisation meant that progress towards the required reforms was slow. He presided over a tumultuous period in Olympic history, as the era of political boycotts became a pressing issue. Particular issues surrounding the 1976 and 1980 Olympic Games led to boycotts and provided examples of how the Olympic arena was still being openly used to promote political messages. Boycotts were generally effective in gaining headlines, however, in most cases, in the longer term they failed to achieve the wider goals of that particular boycotting nation or group of nations. As R.Pound, IOC vice-president, puts it: "They were serious at the time and disruptive to the Games, but in the long run, if anything, these boycotts have strengthened the Olympic movement." He continued; "First of all they are not effective in accomplishing their political objectives. The cardinal sin in international politics is to look inept."²⁵⁶

The problems associated with the boycott of the Montreal Olympics in 1976 by African nations bear heavily on any analysis of Lord Killanin's Presidency. The inability of the parties involved to reach an agreement, and the reluctance of the IOC to withdraw New Zealand's invitation to participate, were a major failing of this period. The dispute arose after the New Zealand Rugby Union team had played against internationally isolated, apartheid South Africa. Clearly, a ban would have been the only way of placating the Organisation Of African Unity (OAU) thereby ensuring the participation of the majority of African nations.²⁵⁷ The Olympic movement itself suffered in terms of its

²⁵⁵ Lord Killanin, *My Olympic Years* p.158

²⁵⁶ Pound, R. in 'Nationalism and the Olympics', Pt.2 of 6, Flashback Productions, *The Games in Question* (Video) (London 1988)

²⁵⁷ Senn, A. *Power, Politics and the Olympic Games* pp.166-67

image, and the city of Montreal suffered financially from the subsequent boycott as the budgetary shortfall following the 1976 Olympic Games was calculated to be in the region of \$1bn. It should be remembered that this deficit was also partially the result of a number of capital projects being included in the Olympic budgets by civic leaders.²⁵⁸

On the evidence of this Olympic showcase, lessons had to be learned quickly and a lot of hard work had to be done by all within the Olympic movement, to ensure that this was not to occur again. The boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games by those nations affiliated to the United States as a result of the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, meant that Lord Killanin faced extensive diplomatic efforts. He had to try to secure some form of a solution and protect the spectacle of the Olympic Games primarily for the benefit of sponsors and television companies, as well as for the athletes and spectators. The subsequent failure of this initiative cannot be attributed entirely to the failings of the IOC President as the intransigence of both sides - especially the United States - ruled out any accommodation or compromise. This impasse could have been extremely serious for the Olympic movement and the future celebration of the Olympic Games. Ultimately the pragmatism of the organisation and the vague nature of Olympism provided the Olympic authorities with sufficient room to manoeuvre.

Generally, Killanin was well received within the IOC and was both competent and far more progressive than his predecessor. (While he was altogether more comfortable in his dealings with the media, he had the image of someone who seemed to react to how the Olympic Games were developing, rather than by establishing any clear organisational practice.)²⁵⁹ This situation was mirrored in the financial state of the Olympic movement. It can be argued that it was the inability of his predecessors to deal effectively with pressing issues that left him in such a no-win situation. Killanin worked very hard for the organisation and undoubtedly aided in the slow process of modernising the Olympic movement. His period of office has since increasingly become viewed as a

²⁵⁸ Kidd, B. 'From "Excellence" to "Bread and Roses": The Transformation of the Toronto Olympic Bid' conference paper, Australian Society of Sports History Canberra 1991 (Unpublished) p.2

²⁵⁹ Miller, D. Olympic Revolution p.11

stop-gap presidency, and significantly the last of the ‘amateur administrations’.²⁶⁰ The most recent IOC President, and current incumbent, Juan Antonio Samaranch, eagerly grasped the baton to continue the process of modernisation that had been begun by Lord Killanin.

By the 1980s, the diplomatic and practical requirements of the Olympic movement necessitated a shift in leadership that would provide clarity in terms of the organisational direction and emphasis. Operational pragmatism was also necessary, in order to be able to react to both potential opportunities and unforeseen organisational tensions. This period from 1980 onwards can be clearly identified as being central to the introduction of a more modern, financially secure and fundamentally more professional emphasis within the IOC structures. This coincides directly with Juan Antonio Samaranch’s tenure as IOC President. Under his leadership the Olympic movement and its administrative structures have undoubtedly become more diplomatic, professional and controlled. The successes and growth enjoyed by the Olympic movement since the early 1980s were until recently lauded as the endorsement of history for these changes.

(v) Progression and development unhindered.

Juan Antonio Samaranch was born in Barcelona and spent his early career in Spanish politics before moving to the diplomatic service.²⁶¹ While this included an ambassadorial posting to Moscow, his initial point of entry to the IOC came via the International Roller Hockey Federation (IRHF), an associate member of the GAISF.²⁶² Since gaining the office of President in 1980, Samaranch has exerted a far more significant influence on the character of the organisation than most of the presidents who have preceded him. He was a well-respected IOC member within the Olympic movement and has subsequently influenced many organisational shifts and policy decisions. His diplomatic experience was to prove invaluable in his new role. By determining both a traditional clarity of focus for the organisation and allowing the Olympic movement to forge out into new, prosperous areas the internal structure has been widened significantly.

²⁶⁰ Ibid pp.11-12

²⁶¹ Ibid pp.21-24

²⁶² Ibid p.23

He gradually introduced individuals into the organisational structure who had specific and specialised skills. Indeed, a number of new IOC members were effectively employed to do a particular job. For example, E. Brunner, IOC member in Switzerland, who had extensive previous experience within international relations, was co-opted specifically to advise the IOC on international affairs.²⁶³

The variety of media forms that portray the Olympic spectacle illustrates the diverse multimedia festival that the Games now are. Undoubtedly, the emphasis placed upon developing new revenues streams under the Samaranch years has allowed this expansion to continue. The incorporation of tightly controlled sponsorship, advertising and media rights, provided these new sources of finance for the Olympic movement.²⁶⁴ In fact, President Samaranch has used the media as a forum for establishing the validity of the Olympic movement's credentials. In particular, two recent quotations disseminated via the official Olympic website, provide an illustration of this.

The desire to create a culture of democracy, justice, peace, solidarity and respect for fundamental and universal ethical principles has been omnipresent in the activities undertaken by the IOC since its creation in 1894.²⁶⁵

He later stated that;

Since its foundation in 1894, the IOC has been faced with problems of every nature and has always succeeded in overcoming them by taking the right decisions. This will remain true in the future. The Olympic Movement is strong enough to take up the challenge.²⁶⁶

It can be argued that the IOC and its various presidents have generally reacted to, rather than actively set, the Olympic agenda. The numerous media-reported issues, related to political tension, financial hardship and structural conflict, that have affected

²⁶³ IOC, *Olympic Biographies* (Lausanne 1995) pp.127-130

²⁶⁴ A scarcity of the supply of a positive image or brand image can be a very powerful tool especially if professionally marketed.

²⁶⁵ http://www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews346_e.html Olympic Highlights No.346, 11/12/98 (President Samaranch's message on the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.)

²⁶⁶ http://www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews348_e.html Olympic Highlights No.348 30/12/98 (This statement was given a few days before distinct allegations regarding the voting behaviour of IOC members became common knowledge. Its message was largely lost amid the condemnation expressed after the Salt Lake City situation became clearer.)

the character of the Olympic movement over the last century provide examples of this reactive approach. Furthermore, the potential influence of new information technology has only just been realised by organisations such as the IOC and the wider Olympic movement.²⁶⁷ New media developments could be both a help and a hindrance. To this end, the Olympic authorities were quick to act once this fact had been realised. How information was presented within these new media forms as well as those that already existed determined how effectively image and tradition were managed, maintained and developed over time.

The particular characteristics of Samaranch's presidency can be seen as a wider process of pragmatically striving towards utopian ideals. The only certain outcome of this approach is, by definition, inconclusive. That said, the organisation under Samaranch's stewardship has clearly taken advantage of revenue maximisation opportunities. Furthermore, it is clear that the re-introduction of political-style patronage to the organisation under Samaranch has returned the IOC to the type of organisational dynamic associated with Pierre de Coubertin. Undoubtedly Samaranch has had a more complex media spotlight to operate under, but he has managed it very effectively. A self-styled reformer, Samaranch presided over the transformation of a backward and financially very weak IOC, into an international organisation that promotes itself as being of equal influence and importance to the United Nations.²⁶⁸ While the role of the Los Angeles Olympics of 1984 in transforming the Olympic Games into a modern sporting enterprise is widely recognised, from the stance of this thesis it was a watershed event. The efficiency and spectacular profit-making emphasis of that event provided the impetus for the open acceptance of commercialism within the IOC and the Olympic movement, as well as a reaffirmed desire by cities to act as future Olympic hosts.

Innovation and pragmatism have also played a major part in defining Samaranch's approach to his years in office. He has presided over the development of an expanded information delivery system, which has heightened official control over

²⁶⁷ Flashback Productions, 'Science in the Olympics' Pt.5, of 6, The Games in Question (Video) (London 1988)

²⁶⁸ Jennings, A. The New Lords of the Rings (London 1996) pp.260-1

Olympic matters. By overseeing the expansion of Olympic Solidarity, organisational claims towards universality were being met, and by transforming Olympic finances the future was increasingly secure.²⁶⁹ The later incorporation of a wholly new business emphasis facilitated the establishment of favourable financial and commercial links. Nowadays it is clear that the IOC is probably the richest sporting organisation in the world. However, another key focus for Samaranch's attention in his time as leader of the IOC relates to the push for increased internationalism within the Olympic movement. Samaranch has primarily been a pragmatic and skilled president, whose policies and diplomatic approach have allowed the wider Olympic movement room to develop and expand into new areas. Despite the progress made by the Olympic movement over the last century, some Olympic observers have pointed out that there has been a lack of a moral or ethical focus. This is especially the case when compared to the progress that the Games themselves have enjoyed.²⁷⁰

Conclusion.

While Vikelas had negligible dealings with the media, Coubertin had happily used public address systems and press reporters to try to get his Olympic message across. Baillet-Latour was less amenable to the media, and found that they could be harsh critics as well as useful as a promotional tool. While Edstrom had embraced the new technologies developed in the aftermath of the Second World War, Brundage sought to check their growth and influence over the Olympic movement. The succession of Killanin meant that the relationship between the media and the IOC in particular became more cooperative. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, the print media, in particular, often portrayed Killanin as naive. When Samaranch took over in 1980 there was a need for a more structured approach to promoting the organisation. This stemmed from the nature of the IOC's dealings with the media and the need to protect and nurture wherever possible a positive, unique and ideal brand-image of what Olympic sport should be. Samaranch has developed a band of trusted reporters and confidants who receive

²⁶⁹ Miller, D. Olympic Revolution p.7

²⁷⁰ The expansion of the Olympic Games and the Olympic Family since 1980, illustrates the willingness for nations to be involved in the Olympic future, even if ethical standards are slipping. Lucas, J. Future of The Olympic Games (Champaign 1992) pp.99-101

relatively unfettered access to official sources. However, this privileged access is in a sense wasted as these media voices continue to recount the rosier and most uncontroversial details possible of the Olympic operation.

The media's view of the Olympic movement is interesting in that the IOC is seen as the agenda-setting governing body dealing with official comment. There is a certain sense of solidarity in the operation of the IOC, as it combines mutual dependence, community interests, feelings and actions. However, this role has come under pressure from the NOCs and the ISFs over how far each group's scope of comment should extend. Clearly, nowadays the Olympic movement is a pragmatic and well-promoted organisation, and yet it rarely lives up to all its self-promotion. There is a feeling within some of the media that the IOC in particular has become too unaccountable, and therefore it requires restructuring to comprise more NOC and ISF representatives.²⁷¹ The tensions that exist within the Olympic movement are not approached head on, unless there is a specific occurrence that brings an issue to the surface. Ben Johnson's positive drug test in Seoul 1988 provides an example of how such issues require policy decisions to be taken by the Olympic authorities. Generally, this episode sparked definite recriminations and uncomfortable debate related to the increasing improvements in athlete performance and the role of performance-enhancing drugs on the Olympic sportscape. This issue seems almost unmanageable even today. For a significant number of observers the media's concentration on that issue at Seoul, removed some of the gloss from the Olympic image. This is a process that is difficult to reverse no matter what extent of organisational control is exerted by the Olympic authorities.

Clearly the presidential office-holder has at various times enjoyed a certain degree of leeway in the management of the Olympic movement. The subsequent development of a more coherent organisational image can be seen as a necessity resulting from the ideological undercurrent associated with the post-Second World War period. To suggest that this is part of a distinct, organisational policy would be to overstate the case,

²⁷¹ <http://www.sportsweb.com/news/OLY/OLY-n2578988.20-05-50.html> Reuters Sportsweb 'Reform group proposes more athletes on IOC' 15/7/99

especially given the diversity of the individuals who have served as IOC president. Undoubtedly, Olympism has played a key role as a loose set of parameters and ideals useful for managing information throughout periods of organisational difficulty. The idea that the Olympic events as seen by the majority of the global audience on television are very different from the experience of the participants is not new. This is something that has become increasingly important with the growth of television coverage. Depending upon intended receiver, the perception of the image of the Olympic Games will differ. This distinction has an important implication for the image of the Olympic Games. Wherever there are differing versions of events structural conflicts are never far behind and with television as a vehicle for projecting a consistent sporting image, divergent versions of events are increasingly minimised.

The operation to stage the Olympic Games grew in scale throughout the post-Second World War period. In the 1950s, little was indicated to the population of the host-city as to their responsibilities in staging such an event. Nowadays the whole bidding process has become nationally and globally important. In the light of later chapters it is worth noting that the requirements of the media have contributed an increasingly significant proportion of the bidding process considerations. (Clearly, the effective management of the Olympic Games as an event further helps to spread the Olympic message and philosophy as positive forces for change, to a receptive global audience.) The success of the Olympic movement as an international organisation can be attributed to its positive public image associated with the purity and sanctity of sport. Lastly, the quadrennial nature of the event increases the demand from sponsors and advertisers, as the image has a built-in scarcity of supply.

The desire of the Olympic authorities to manage official information output was clearly not a stated organisational aim prior to the Second World War. However, by the early 1950s, entries in the Olympic Charter and the growth of the Olympic spectacle itself, suggest that fundamental shifts were taking place related to the popularity and importance of the festival. These primarily affected new sources of finance and more effective operational practice. In many cases, however, these shifts of emphasis directly

mirrored changes and dynamics at work within the wider global society. The next chapter will examine more directly the historical development of new media technology and public relations specifically related to the idea of deliberate information control within the Olympic movement.

At this point in the thesis, it is necessary to stress that the emphasis of the study will now begin to shift from a primarily chronological, fact-based approach, to consider a more interdisciplinary, theoretical model of the Olympic movement. Such a model will involve an analysis that draws more directly upon a variety of fields of study, employing the analytical tool of theoretical pluralism via the use of multiple lenses. These themes will include media studies (particularly the influence of new technologies on society), both propaganda practices and public relations (as each relates to and interacts within Olympic organisational structures) and strategic management principles related to large multi-national organisations. Most importantly, these approaches, when combined will form a coherent analytical standpoint providing an indication of the sheer diversity of the Olympic movement. Such theoretical pluralism affords further insights into the power structures that do exist.

Chapter 4:

MEDIA DEVELOPMENT, PUBLIC RELATIONS PRACTICE AND THE USE OF ORGANISATIONAL IMAGE MANAGEMENT.

This chapter will deal with the process of institutional information transfer and the control exerted by the Olympic authorities via press releases throughout the latter part of the twentieth century. Additionally, it is necessary for the development of the thesis to introduce the specifics of the relationship between particularly radio, the print media, newsreels and the Olympic movement prior 1945. This largely beneficial relationship between the Olympic movement and the media will be more critically considered in Chapter 5, where it will be necessary to mention more specifically how television has also impacted upon the Olympic movement. As was alluded to in previous chapters, the relationship between Olympic sport and the media has clearly changed over time. This can be partially explained by the Olympic movement initially having a reactive emphasis and approach towards issues raised in and by the media. However, more recently the product of the media industry has become of primary, strategic importance to both Olympic and other sporting organisations especially regarding efforts towards the maintenance of a positive image. It can be problematic to try to identify the exact point at which a given significant change occurred within a particular social system or organisation. Clearly the influence of the media upon all ideological and social systems grew significantly in the second half of the twentieth century and has continued to grow ever since.

In the first part of this chapter a definitive historical progression detailing technological advances related to the media will be established. This is necessary to provide a context for the analysis of the media, especially in terms of what has been an all pervasive social factor that has influenced the reality of everyday life and not just the Olympic movement. In the second section the emphasis will shift to consider a contextual history of the development of public relations, as this further focuses the thesis upon the notion of image management. This will include practical lessons learned from attempts at changing attitudes throughout history and from propaganda exercises during the two

World Wars.²⁷² This chronology will then be juxtaposed with the phenomenal growth in the traditional media and how more general developments in the nature of communications and the related technology have influenced changes in the practicalities of organisational image management and public relations. This analysis will also deal with how political spin doctoring - deliberate efforts at managing media information in order to influence opinion and thereby affect a particular agenda - have developed as a practical process within modern society and its associated large organisations. The next section relates to how the new media forms, such as the Internet, have affected and will influence diverse aspects of the receipt and delivery of the Olympic image. By primarily dealing with the developing media forms as they relate to the more fundamental societal shift in information delivery, from simple information presentation to the control of information transfer within both sporting and non-sporting organisations, this chapter will provide a broad, essentially non-Olympic point of reference. It also establishes the social history of the period under consideration, one in which both the notion and the practical use of image management have become increasingly more prevalent and important. The final section will more specifically redirect the issues raised, back towards the organisational context of the Olympic movement. Whilst clearly this thesis relates to the Olympic reality, this particular Chapter will be primarily non-Olympic in tone and context. This effectively sets the scene for a fuller analysis of the issues raised in later chapters.

(i) Technological advances in media and communications.

...the great inventions of the age, railroads and telegraphs, have brought into communication people of all nationalities. Easier intercourse between men of all languages has naturally opened a wider sphere for common interests. Men have begun to lead less isolated existences, different races have learnt to know and understand each other better, they have compared their powers and achievements in the fields of art, industry and science, and a noble rivalry has sprung up amongst them, urging them on to greater accomplishments.²⁷³

²⁷² Brown, J. Techniques of Persuasion: From Propaganda to Brainwashing (London 1967) pp.9-11

²⁷³ De Coubertin, P Speech delivered prior to the Athens games of 1896, cited in Loland, S. 'Coubertin's Ideology of Olympism from the perspective of the History of Ideas' in, Olympika Vol. IV 1995, p.60

Social change is generally recognised as a complex process that is influenced by a wide variety of key variables. The particular developments within a society that accompanies a particular change are not always consistent or uniform. However, the influence of policy upon the rate of progress is usually considerable. Particular structural conditions are generally required to be in place before the adoption of new ideas and practices; for example, the historical expansion of invention and innovation within media technology was reliant upon the acceptance of such new technologies by both the market and the society as a whole. The necessary condition of social acceptance of a given information delivery system is especially important to this analysis that looks at how an image is presented to an audience.

The widespread use of the printing press a century or so before the beginnings of the Olympic revival movement provided an initial means for disseminating, usually local, information. Gradually the early examples of a mass media in the form of newspapers and journals that appeared from the late eighteenth century onwards began to reach an increasingly general readership thereby expanding its popularity.²⁷⁴ The fact that many theoretical proofs were established and tested within the physical sciences especially during the nineteenth century provided a certain and solid foundation for further scientific innovation. By the 1850s a seemingly haphazard process of innovation and discovery was already ongoing. Indeed significant developments in the practical use of photography²⁷⁵ during this period had been a truly international effort. Photography had provided a further innovation that made the existing media forms infinitely more attractive and appealing to the readership. This in turn provided the impetus for an expansion of their readership and appeal.²⁷⁶ As Anderson goes on to postulate:

²⁷⁴ Anderson, P. The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture 1790-1860 (Oxford 1991) pp.192-194, see also Brown, J. Techniques of Persuasion p.18

²⁷⁵ <http://www.mediahistory.com/time/1850s.html> Media History Timeline 14/9/1999 Twenty years after wet-plate photography was established in 1851, developments such as the introduction of the wide-angle lens, the practical use of wireless telegraphy, as well as a basic colour photographic process provided the news media with the technology to begin incorporating pictures into their editions

²⁷⁶ Literacy levels began to grow as a result of the expansion and increased homogeneity of mass culture that developed between 1830 and 1860. Anderson, P. The Printed Image p.198

...this was a mass culture whose central artefacts depended upon and fostered new technology, increasingly commercialised their operation, continually augmented the amount and range of their written and pictorial content and persistently reached and communicated with an ever widening, socially and geographically diverse body of readers and viewers. In this way the new culture accommodated all the necessary preconditions for the development of the twentieth century mass media.²⁷⁷

Meanwhile, levels of international co-operation or at least the exchange of ideas continued to flourish. This resulted in the practical development of telegraphy and a communications link across the Atlantic being established as early as 1865.²⁷⁸ By the turn of the century further inventions that had already been successfully tested in the laboratory included the cathode-ray tube, telephony and a practical process for colour photography.²⁷⁹ Interestingly regarding the dominant media form of the period, newspapers could already print pictures in their editions by using the half tone process.²⁸⁰ The introduction of celluloid film and the telephoto lens added further flexibility to the photographic medium in the late 1880s.²⁸¹ Despite advances in the traditional media of newspapers and photography, experimentation increasingly began to focus upon the possibility of developing new technology related to sound and vision.²⁸²

Marconi's invention of wireless telegraphy and his later attempts at sending a radio signal across the Atlantic marked an especially productive and progressive period in information technology.²⁸³ General and continuing advances were introduced into all areas of the burgeoning media, including radio, telegraph, phonograph, film and printing.²⁸⁴ The innovation of Fleming's diode mechanism improved radio reception while in the Soviet Union, Rosing expounded the theory of how television might be made

²⁷⁷ Ibid p.198

²⁷⁸ <http://www.mediahistory.com/time/1860s.html> Media History Timeline 14/9/1999

²⁷⁹ It is noteworthy that cathode-ray technologies developed from the discovery of the wider implications of sub-atomic physics. Winston, B. Media, Technology and Society: A History from the Telegraph to the Internet (London 1998) p.90.

²⁸⁰ <http://www.mediahistory.com/time/1870s.html> Media History Timeline 14/9/1999

²⁸¹ Ibid

²⁸² Winston, B. Media, Technology and Society pp.74-8

²⁸³ <http://www.mediahistory.com/time/1890s.html> Media History Timeline 14/9/1999

²⁸⁴ Ibid

to work.²⁸⁵ A good example of the potential of such new technological advances (many of which were only just being realised) was the use of a radio distress signal in 1909, to save 1700 lives after two ships had collided.²⁸⁶ By the beginning of the 1920s, much of the theory behind the technological advances that appear later during the twentieth century had been established by competitors and collaborators in both business and academia. A broader and yet more specific chronology is important at this point, as an illustration of the rate at which the scientific and information technology base was growing.

Inevitably the global take-up of new technologies was generally influenced by a number of factors affecting the market, yet of paramount importance within this was the sophistication of the news media itself. The United States was far in advance of almost every other nation in the acceptance and incorporation of the new technologies into society. By 1912, the process of regulating the new media had already begun, as laws were established to control radio stations in the United States, thereby initiating governmental control of information systems in the event of war.²⁸⁷ In the UK, tentative steps were made by the Post Office and other communications bodies to charter a national broadcasting service. This was later to become the BBC.²⁸⁸ As had happened with photography previously, technological advances affecting the actual content and practice within a variety of media forms became more frequent. Radio broadcasting had been envisioned as a 'household utility' in 1916 by D Sarnoff²⁸⁹, indeed this was borne out with the introduction of the feedback and heterodyne systems that improved the operation of radio sets in the home. Subsequently, the discovery of triode vacuum technology and short-wave radio continued to develop the medium.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁵ Ibid

²⁸⁶ Ibid

²⁸⁷ Winston, B Media, Technology and Society p.77

²⁸⁸ The actual early history of the organisation is unclear, in that it was the result of either the vision of Lord Reith or was an accident of circumstance. Curran, J. and Seaton, J. – Power Without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain, 5th Edition (London 1997) p.111

²⁸⁹ Ibid p.111

²⁹⁰ <http://www.mediahistory.com/time/1920s.html> Media History Timeline 14/9/1999

The fledgling technological advances that were to provide the theory for this new era of radio (and latterly television) were already well advanced in the laboratory by the 1920s, with prototypes capable of being mass-produced for the consumer.²⁹¹ The first broadcasting station (KDKA in Pittsburgh) opened in the United States in 1920 whereupon the link to business practice and organisation was established at an early stage.²⁹² Despite this fact, initially there were few concrete attempts to manufacture and develop new technologies or to exploit their full market potential. It was only later that the required production techniques, as demonstrated by Henry Ford, were developed sufficiently to facilitate such moves. As specific societal values shifted, widespread technological consumption slowly became more feasible. Indeed, it is estimated that by 1925, there were 2.5 million radio sets in the United States.²⁹³

In the historical development of the Olympic Movement, newsreels have played a minor, yet key role in the process of technological change that was occurring within the media. Nevertheless, it should be noted that from the early 1930s through to the widespread use of television, newsreel footage was an enduring visual media form. It was especially important in terms of the lack of alternative image promotion opportunities that existed for the Olympic authorities at that time. The major newsreel corporations, Gaumont, Movietone and Pathe all competed to provide visual representations of newsworthy domestic and world events.²⁹⁴ (During the period of an Olympic Games regular updates were provided for cinema audiences.) On occasion, the BBC would supplement its own reports by using output from the various newsreel organisations. As the majority of the population did not have access to a television for some time following the end of the Second World War, this suggests that newsreels were still an important medium for information dissemination, through to the growth in television use in the 1960s.

²⁹¹ Ibid

²⁹² Ibid

²⁹³ Ibid

²⁹⁴ Crisell, A. An Introductory History of British Broadcasting (London 1997) p.73

Between 1920 and 1930 the pace of development (particularly in the United States) was increasingly being driven by business and corporations as they began to realise the potential of the technology to provide willing consumers. As many innovators and inventors became closely affiliated to the scientific laboratories that had established development corporations (to benefit commercially from the full potential of new discoveries), demand increased dramatically. This developing link between new technology, celebratory events, business operation and revenue maximisation, is clearly highlighted at an early stage in the media chronology. The 1930s saw the first telecast of a moving image to which Baird introduced his electro-mechanical television system, and later he added a colour process.²⁹⁵ This was a crucial decade for the development of broadcasting in general. In the United States further general regulatory measures were taken by declaring the public ownership of the airwaves in the Radio Act of 1927.²⁹⁶ In the UK, the BBC began to take shape, with its status changing to that of a corporation under Royal Charter in 1926 and a new television studio being built in London.²⁹⁷ Despite all these advances, the 1930s was still viewed as the ‘Golden Age’ of radio, as now, half of all homes in the United States owned a radio set. Meanwhile, new life was being breathed into an old technology with the development of multi-flash sports photography.²⁹⁸

The link to advertising was established early on, with the first radio commercial in the United States costing \$100 for 10 minutes in 1922.²⁹⁹ Interestingly, in the context of the structure of a dynamic and developing relationship, the link between the media, its content and business interests was developed further with the introduction of Nielsen’s ‘Audimeter’.³⁰⁰ This provided a means of measuring audiences that allowed the targeting of advertising and promotional initiatives. These initiatives would be dependent upon the data gathered and the projected socio-economic background of a particular target

²⁹⁵ Ibid

²⁹⁶ This was an extension of the 1912 Radio Act in the United States. Winston, B. Media, Technology and Society p.77

²⁹⁷ Briggs, A The History of Broadcasting in the UK – Volume 1: The Birth of Broadcasting (Oxford 1961) p.53

²⁹⁸ <http://www.mediahistory.com/time/1930s.html> Media History Timeline 14/9/1999

²⁹⁹ Ibid

³⁰⁰ Ibid

audience. Indeed, as a significant yet largely peripheral actor within the development of the media, the role of advertising cannot be discounted. Most importantly, it was via this means that business became more interested in developments within the media industry. Many of these developments related specifically to the reach of the media in terms of its potential audience, and therefore appealed to advertisers as a medium for delivering more certainty to the targeting of the most profitable, demographically determined audiences.

Generally, technological advances continued apace in the inter-war era with coast-to-coast broadcasts in the United States, while in the UK, Baird had already demonstrated live colour television.³⁰¹ However, by 1938 a more basic innovation had a far more direct impact upon media practices of the time, as broadcasts could now be easily taped and edited.³⁰² Soon, as a result of the huge growth in the technology available and not unrelated to the worsening situation in Europe, the United States government, via the FCC (Federal Communications Commission) sought to further regulate the market by setting television standards of practice.³⁰³ A further indicator to the future direction of the industry was highlighted in 1945 with a proposed system of geo-synchronous communications satellites.³⁰⁴ However, the development of a clear and broad political will that was necessary to bring such an innovation into practical use would have to wait until time healed the wounds left by the Second World War.

Sporting events were now beginning to be broadcast in colour, and more generally a new found broadcasting sophistication and best working practice were beginning to deliver better quality and more popular programming.³⁰⁵ Meanwhile, and partially as a result of the invention of the zoom lens and other technical aids, the public's clamour for television began to grow. In the space of a year, between 1950 and 1951, there was a tenfold increase in the spread of television set ownership in the United

³⁰¹ Ibid The innovation of pulse code modulation in 1937 pointed the way forward to digital transmissions. the full potential of which we are only just seeing to impact upon society in the last few years.

³⁰² Ibid

³⁰³ Ibid

³⁰⁴ <http://www.mediahistory.com/time/1940s.html> Media History Timeline 14/9/1999

³⁰⁵ Ibid

States.³⁰⁶ Following the end of the Second World War, telecommunications soon became a truly global enterprise, as the introduction of satellite technology brought a huge potential for growth. Throughout the 1960s, and as an offshoot of the Cold War, the space race had played a significant role in the progression of media technology. For both sides in the ideological battle, communications were vital, both in terms of defence and attack. Satellites soon began to appear in geo-synchronous orbit, although crucially it was not until Intelsat was formed in 1964, as an international agency for satellite co-operation, that the technology became practical.³⁰⁷ The fact that, during 1965, satellites began broadcasting across the Soviet Union shows that such technological developments were not the preserve of the western-capitalist nations.³⁰⁸ Despite such initiatives the level of ownership and therefore of access to receivers in the Soviet Union was still limited.

International co-operation, however, was flourishing by the end of the 1960s. During that decade Intelsat completed a global satellite communications loop. When this particular advance is considered alongside the realisation of the potential of fibre-optics, the future expansion and direction of media technology became clearer.³⁰⁹ Commercial factors, as well as the acceptance of the new media forms by the public, affected the spread of these new technologies. In attempts to gain a competitive advantage, business interests increasingly sought to use advertising in the media to trade upon increased publicity and assist in the branding of their products.³¹⁰ For this to be effective, an association had to be made between the viewer and the positive or desirable image, as this establishes a link to the product being promoted.³¹¹ The ability to effectively maintain such an image was clearly, to some extent, reliant upon the need for information management via the control of the promotional message.

³⁰⁶ <http://www.mediahistory.com/time/1950s.html> Media History Timeline 14/9/1999 It should be remembered that this extraordinary rate of take-up in the United States was not dispersed universally, but was for the most part confined to the urban centres, especially the East coast.

³⁰⁷ <http://www.mediahistory.com/time/1960s.html> Media History Timeline 14/9/1999

³⁰⁸ Ibid

³⁰⁹ Ibid

³¹⁰ Ferrand, A. and Pages, M. 'Image Sponsoring: A Methodology to Match Event and Sponsor' in, Journal of Sports Management (Vol. 10 1996) p.279

It was the involvement of business and advertising in the coverage of events that directly influenced the need for a more commercially structured Olympic operation. In many cases this occurred with little consideration for the effect that such a move might have. Indeed, in terms of the type of image being projected there are few organisations and events that have enjoyed one as globally positive and yet as pragmatic as the Olympic movement. There are even fewer comparable organisations or events that have made themselves so available and amenable to accommodating the technological advances and broadcasting needs associated with the media's developing business agenda, throughout the twentieth century. This accommodation can be clearly attributed, in recent years to the financial success of the Olympic movement. To a large extent this has been reliant upon the revenues drawn from the media. Previously, the favourable aspects of the Olympic Games and the image of the Olympic philosophy were retained intact yet with this shift in emphasis towards increasing media involvement, it was more difficult for this to continue as it had done before. This technical detail about the growth of the media included here is an important element in identifying the disciplines and lenses employed within the perspective of theoretical pluralism.

(ii) The traditional media and image presentation.

An early example of the expansion of basic print media forms, were the numerous newsletters that appeared in London in 1622.³¹² However, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a wide variety of pamphlet-type publications became common, many of which were heavily laden with what can be described as early forms of propaganda. Indeed, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the English press was a collection of journals and booklets with the single purpose of converting readers to their own particular point of view.³¹³ Somewhat prophetically, *The Times* of London in an editorial from 1852, highlighted the problem inherent within the relationship between the media and the information delivery system.

³¹¹ Ibid p.280

³¹² Brown, J. *Techniques of Persuasion* p.18

³¹³ Ibid p.18

The duty of the journalist is the same as the historian – to seek out the truth, above all things, and to present to readers not such things as statecraft would wish them to know but the truth as near as he can attain it.³¹⁴

This suggests that there is a gap between the official version of events and the reflection of it in the newspapers. The tight secrecy surrounding state information facilitated official control on the pretext of delivering stability. However, the preservation of the status quo had its own problems for the smooth functioning of the democratic model. Political public relations and press officers appeared for the first time in Whitehall in the 1920s and 1930s.³¹⁵ As a result of the role played by wartime ministries of information, the lobby system began to spread from political bureaucracies to other areas and institutions.³¹⁶ Journalists became over-reliant upon one source of information, namely official channels of communication.

Some of them tend to depend so largely on official sources for information and... develop such obligations to the officials with whom they work, that they become mouth pieces of authority. They are known as trustworthy by the department with whom they work.³¹⁷

From the 1830s, the printed word and its associated image had proliferated to an extent unimagined only a decade or so earlier. The 1861 Repeal of the duty on paper³¹⁸ further enhanced publisher's profits and contributed to the growth of the industry. Surprisingly in the light of later developments, the growth of commercial advertising can be seen as playing a major part in making newspapers more honest and moderately respectable.³¹⁹ (Advertising usually projected a very positive, conservative and philanthropic emphasis at this stage) Between 1830 and 1860, we see again the early phase of a new mass culture as it emerged from the centre of a transformed and greatly expanded popular culture.³²⁰

³¹⁴ Hennessey, P. What the Papers Never Said (London 1985) p.141

³¹⁵ Ibid p.5

³¹⁶ Williams, F. Parliament, Press and the Public (London 1948), cited in Hennessey, P. What the papers never said p.8

³¹⁷ Ibid p.7

³¹⁸ Anderson, P. The Printed Image p.196

³¹⁹ Brown, J. Techniques of Persuasion p.19

³²⁰ Anderson, P. The Printed Image p.198

This was not a fully commercialised mass culture such as that which developed in the latter part of the nineteenth century. This was a culture whose central artefacts depended upon and fostered new technology to increasingly commercialise its operation.³²¹

The formation of public opinion and the construction of the public sphere, in which the press played a critical role, was one of the sites where the middle-class pursued their claims to social power.³²² The rise of the marketplace within society tied together both knowledge and power as well as opinion and influence in significant ways. This created a fluidity of opinion and an openness that had not previously existed. The present media system was finally stabilised under the regime of capital and the market.³²³ Regularly in the press and television we find the same categories and images as well as the same systems of representation that tend to repeat and reproduce a certain definition of the world. The image of the world and the attitudes towards reality as presented by the press, are basic functions of the medium's educational role.³²⁴ Indeed, bias suggests a deliberate and wilful, almost self-conscious, bending of the rules of presentation, and that it is ongoing. Censorship, however, is key to the process of surveillance and the management of the parameters of opinion within a particular arena.³²⁵ The issue of control is central to the whole notion of presenting an image. The situation for the majority of the Olympic authorities is a complicated one. These practices are developed in and incorporated from other disciplines, so the use of them within Olympic structures is initially on a trial and error basis.

The growth and expansion of mediated culture, particularly the expansion and acceptance of new media technologies provides a precise backdrop for the all-pervasive spread of the media during the period under consideration. In fact, it can be argued that the media has provided the impetus for the continued growth of shared cultural occasions

³²¹ Ibid p.198

³²² Curran, J. Ecclestone, J. Oakley, G. and Richardson, A. Bending Reality: The state of the media (London 1986) p.6

³²³ Ibid p.7

³²⁴ Pisarek, W. in, Davis H. and Walton P. Language, Image, Media (Oxford 1983) p.157

³²⁵ Brown, J. Techniques of Persuasion p.9

and for an expansion of the social awareness of the general population.³²⁶ At the turn of the nineteenth century such awareness influenced how society interacted with the different media forms however access to them was usually restricted. As Thompson observed; ‘although the bourgeois public sphere was based on the principle of universal access, in practice it was restricted to those individuals who had the education and the financial means to participate in it’. He continued ‘[the] public sphere was not only restricted to the educated and propertied elites, but was also a predominantly male preserve’.³²⁷

In particular Thompson believes that the mass media have created a new form of publicness, distinguished by visibility rather than co-present dialogue.³²⁸ He insists that this new form is not necessarily inferior.

The producers gain greater power to determine symbolic content of the media as well as increased visibility and a wider sphere of influence. But at the same time they are subject to greater invasions of privacy and increased possibilities of criticism and scandal as they have little control over the reception of material.³²⁹

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the expansion of the different media forms has aggressively promoted a commercial culture throughout the world. Culture itself is being constantly redefined for previously local and national cultures via a variety of global media forms. In the past these cultures have acted as a barrier resisting global forces, protecting the traditions and identities of specific groups and peoples.³³⁰ Such cultures had been the particularising forces that had distinguished societies and people from each other. In fact, the process of cross-cultural interaction produced by new media and communications technologies has overcome previous boundaries, to create a global cultural village.³³¹ This provides a clear example of the convergence between the organisational objectives of the media and the globally inclusive goals of the Olympic movement.

³²⁶ Thompson, J. The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media (Stanford 1995) p.75

³²⁷ Ibid p.77

³²⁸ Ibid p.83

³²⁹ Ibid p.84

³³⁰ Kennedy, P. Preparing for the Twentieth Century (London 1993) pp.92-97

(iii) The development of propaganda and public relations.

The battle for both 'hearts and minds' within conflict situations has long been accepted as of key strategic importance by military strategists. There is evidence to suggest that the process of trying to affect the beliefs of others grew from the moment when ideas were first exchanged and discussed within human societies.³³² The process has moved on significantly to expand its level of sophistication and broaden the areas in which it is used. However, numerous examples of the general context within Europe during the nineteenth century, are associated with the expansionist ambitions of nation-states.³³³ The Franco-Prussian War ending in 1871 provides us with an apt example of this type of expansionism, during a general period of conflict. Clearly for Coubertin, in the context of the Olympic revival movement, education alone was not sufficient for the task of disseminating official information.

The propaganda tradition began to be recognised throughout society as relevant in the late nineteenth century as a means of controlling official information in other spheres, especially at a governmental level in non-conflict situations. The term itself is derived from the Roman Catholic tradition of expounding general religious conversion. This gives an indication as to its early use and the connotations that still surround the term.³³⁴ The use of information management was slowly being accepted and included within the political arena in the late nineteenth century. By now establishing more directly the elements involved in propagandising, and attempting to at change attitudes, this will provide further evidence for Olympic practice within this area.

The essence of propaganda is the attempt to control people's attitudes, often in irrational directions. The essence of education is its objectivity in the light of scientific truths prevalent at the time. Freedom of choice presupposes a full appreciation of all alternatives involved, and one feature common to all propaganda is that it tries to limit our choice deliberately.³³⁵

³³¹ Ibid pp.125-6

³³² Hall, S. in, Curran, J. Ecclestone, J. Oakley, G. and Richardson, A. (Eds) *Bending Reality* pp.11-12

³³³ Brown, J. *Techniques of Persuasion* p.95 and p.103

³³⁴ Hall, S. in, Curran, J. Ecclestone, J. Oakley, G. and Richardson, A. (Eds) *Bending Reality* p.14

³³⁵ Ibid p.20

Propaganda generally arises from certain fundamental changes in the nature of communications within societies as they become increasingly more technically advanced. By definition, propaganda can exist only when there are already alternative views.³³⁶ In this sense it is not propaganda to seek to teach a universal or accepted belief. In most cases the propagandist does not engage in genuine argument as the answers have been determined in advance.³³⁷ In many cases propaganda can easily be confused with the process of being biased. However, bias is not propaganda per se, it can only be recognised as propaganda if it is carried out with the purpose of spreading the biased view to those who do not already hold it. It therefore follows that if all propaganda attempts to change minds, not all mind changing is achieved by propaganda alone.³³⁸ Undoubtedly censorship is another important element of propaganda as it selectively suppresses certain views in favour of others. However, again it does not necessarily follow that all suppression of information is carried out for propaganda purposes.³³⁹

Given these analytical tenets, it is clear that the Olympic movement has sought to propagandise at various points in time, in the form of the projection of their Olympic message. Ideological power matters profoundly to the equation. This is better recognised the more we know about how the process of media reporting and image construction works.³⁴⁰ Nobody is capable of creating emotions that do not already exist. The process of the evocation or stimulation of attitudes that are best suited to the desired purpose is crucial for any propaganda exercise. While these attitudes and values are usually innate, it is clear that some are socially acquired, existing for the most part on a subconscious level. The power of suggestion cannot be underestimated, as long as the mediated message is delivered with an eye to the existing attitudes and intellectual level of the audience.³⁴¹ In this sense there is little evidence that propaganda is either powerful or sinister as its efficacy is limited by both social and psychological factors.

³³⁶ Ibid p.13

³³⁷ Ibid p.12

³³⁸ Ibid p.12

³³⁹ Ibid p.15

³⁴⁰ Ibid p.8

³⁴¹ Brown, J. Techniques of Persuasion pp.148-152

In a mass society, however, the public is a conglomeration of individuals who have to accept their beliefs and ideas through the mass media. All too often difficulties arise because communications are such that effective discourse is impossible through tightly and officially controlled channels. It is no surprise that individuals generally feel helpless and at the mercy of power-elites who increasingly control attitudes.³⁴² Perhaps the most telling observation of the relationship between the media, the ownership of it via official channels and the role of the individual within society, is that the same power-elites frequently express shock and distaste at the suggestion that there is any limitation on the free expression of ideas.³⁴³ Clearly there are a number of differences between what can be viewed as the cruder attempts at influencing opinion associated with propaganda exercises (complete with its unsavoury and insidious connotations) and the more modern practice of public relations. Perhaps there is little difference between them, other than historical time and the fact that the use of such practices is now so widespread within society that such measures seem more normal than abnormal.

A wide number of organisations have attempted to influence public opinion (or public perception) through the use of carefully chosen press releases. This can be done to both promote a particular agenda as well as to play down the importance of disastrous or tragic events, invariably for the purpose of maintaining the reputation and image of the organisation. There are numerous diverse examples that can be applied to the operation of national governments, international organisations and non-governmental organisations - including many international sporting authorities. Burson-Marsteller is an excellent example of this process. In many ways indistinguishable from their rivals such as Hill and Knowlton (often used by the Olympic authorities) or Shadwick, they extol their virtues as the world's leading crisis management consultancy. A huge transnational operation netted the company \$233bn from client revenues that included Lloyd's of London, Ford, Philip Morris and a number of governments worldwide. Some of the more notable contracts secured by the firm include Union Carbide's Bhopal disaster, the Exxon Valdez oil slick and the Three Mile Island nuclear emergency.³⁴⁴ How demographic and

³⁴² Hall, S. in, Curran, J. Ecclestone, J. G. Oakley, G. and Richardson, A. (Eds) Bending Reality p.35

³⁴³ Ibid p.37

³⁴⁴ Beckett A. 'The acceptable face of disaster', The Guardian 13/8/1997

social change affects the market is the next public relations battleground for Burson-Marsteller. As the head of their British operation recently elaborated:

The job of selling capitalism is trickier than it used to be. Companies need to appear ethical, the governments that compete for their investment need the appearance of human rights to succeed.³⁴⁵

More generally, public relations is viewed by the industry magazine, *PR Week* as having a duty to act as the corporate conscience. This abdication of conscience on the part of the client organisation is what firms like Burson-Marsteller are paid for. While the firm has long regarded popular feelings with ambivalence - to be feared and yet also to be moulded - a further comment hints at their core task. 'In a crisis companies don't want to look like they're out of control.'³⁴⁶ Mr Philpotts further justifies the operation by stating that, 'We will not represent organisations that have acted illegally. Where we are asked to distort the truth, we do not undertake the work. We will never work on political causes.'³⁴⁷

Interestingly, in terms of the use of the media forms to develop an image, he maintains that the assimilation of pressure groups³⁴⁸ as consultants is vital for the future of their organisational task. Finally, clear evidence of the link between the media and public relations is established when he concludes that, 'Most of what we do is presented through another medium. Through newspapers, through radio...'³⁴⁹ The extensive literature on corporate responsibility and reputations indicates that while the results of such crisis management companies are impressive they are not always the most sympathetic to anyone other than their clients. To overstate the importance of the organisational image as a recognisable concept, with clearly established procedure and practice that is actively managed by official organisations during the period prior to the Second World War, however, would be folly. Nevertheless, the potential of a gradual

³⁴⁵ Philpotts, P. quoted in Beckett, A. 'The acceptable face of disaster', *The Guardian* 13/8/1997

³⁴⁶ Ibid

³⁴⁷ Ibid

³⁴⁸ Ibid Ex-Greenpeace activists now act for such companies as consultants on environmental damage limitation exercises, especially following disasters and crises.

³⁴⁹ Ibid

change in political and administrative emphasis related to maintaining a positive image by managing dealings with the press, at a governmental level, to affect both the societal power structures and the public reaction to them, is borne out by the evidence. More concisely, this can be seen as a non-linear, yet universal variable from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

The lack of a practical global dispersal of the tools of the developing era of information, (from newspapers and radio and more latterly via the telephone, television and computers) as well as the knowledge and experience of how to use them, illustrates the constraints of differing social and economic systems. This also illustrates an example of how international development and cultural exchange in this area was unlikely ever to be equal or hegemonic; that is until such time as technological advances are taken up universally.³⁵⁰ This highlights the fact that take-up was not solely determined by the acceptance of technological advances within a particular society. For example, other economic, social and commercial factors can also influence the spread of any new technology. Furthermore they can act as a means to delineate and differentiate between cultures, societies and social groups in terms of their access to and use of technology.

It is possible for the spread and societal acceptance of new technology, to work effectively in a less structured manner. However, this is not the situation desired by the Olympic authorities, as it would lead to an inherent weakness due to the lack of official control or regulation of the growing media. The problem with this latter version of the process of unregulated growth is that there is also a lesser degree of control over information output on the part of the organisation itself. Furthermore, the tight control of the Olympic image in the media creates a scarcity of supply that has proved highly lucrative for the Olympic movement. Implied within the theory of dealing with the dissemination of information to the media is a structural anomaly. The media is often viewed as generally passive and accepting of official information, yet there does not seem to have been any kind of broad consensus among the different media forms related to

³⁵⁰ Societies and social systems differed in the acceptance and incorporation of new technologies largely as a result of their differing societal and cultural values, aims and practices, as well as the specific economic systems in place.

either practice or procedure. Perhaps this situation relates directly to the power dynamic involved in this relationship between the official line and the media. In the context of this thesis, only when the historical necessity for the establishment of a particular image or agenda arises - alongside effective mechanisms at a social and organisational level for the dissemination of that image or agenda - can we recognise the changes as becoming more deliberate.

Undoubtedly factors such as the information being presented, the particular image to which it refers and the prevailing social climate will affect the success of the dissemination process. Image projection is carried out at a number of levels within society, from the individual follower of fashion to the corporate image of multinational organisations. The process of deliberate efforts at image management and maintenance suggests a greater degree of continuity within the image being projected, as well as how it is received by the target audience. In most instances the Olympic movement can be seen to be acting deliberately to project and maintain a certain image in this way. If we now examine political practice related to information management and control this will provide further insights into the aspects of spin doctoring, before the public relations practices of the Olympic movement are covered in greater depth.

(iv) Image within the political arena.

The whole process of information exchange and how politicians, governments, large (often international) corporations and other similarly sized organisations deal with the media, is far more complex than a simple case of brainwashing or crudely trying to tell people what to think. Importantly, in some cases the deliberate manipulation of a media image can breed mistrust and can therefore be ultimately unproductive. It is rare that official information will either be wholly open to external scrutiny or totally secret, in the sense that access to all lines of communication are closed. This is certainly the case within the Olympic movement. While claiming openness and seeking accountability, the practice for this Olympic observer at least, bears more than a little resemblance to that of a closed and secretive system.

When Theodore Roosevelt was President of the United States, he often appeared sitting down for press conferences, as a problem with childhood polio had left its mark. It was unthinkable for the President's image that he should be presented in front of the nation as somehow imperfect, infirm and weak.³⁵¹ In fact there is little chance that he would ever have become President if this had been commonly known. The use of wheelchairs, strategically placed lecterns and a sympathetic media provided a solution to the problem. It is safe to say that Roosevelt's media image and how he was presented via the media was very closely managed. Indeed, the information presented is always at least as important as the vehicle used for disseminating an image that is capable of influencing belief and opinion. In many previous instances, this had been an extremely basic process. However, a more practical sophistication began during the John F. Kennedy presidency in the United States.

Subsequently, the ends to which Richard Nixon developed the practice of media manipulation, as a senior politician in the United States and later as President, was beyond previous comparison.³⁵² While this did not endear him to everyone all the time, it was enough to make the difference when it came to support for electoral purposes. Nixon accomplished this via the direct and thorough control of the means of information dissemination. This was carried out by the White House Office of Communications via closely managed press conferences, which had the effect of tightly controlling the means of releasing information, as well as how the information that was being released, was presented to the media.³⁵³ Following these practices, with those that Nixon had learned and developed throughout his career, spin doctoring and information control took on a whole new emphasis as the Cold War continued.³⁵⁴ By the 1980s, President Reagan's speech referring to the Soviet Union as an 'Evil Empire' provided another such example of how a particular agenda could be set by the (now almost complete) control of

³⁵¹ "The Freedom Forum is a non-partisan, international foundation dedicated to free press, free speech and free spirit for all people" Freedom Forum Annual Report (Zurich 1995) See also: Johnson, J. 'Spin Doctors and the Media: Feeding the Press or Starving the public' Conference Paper at the Freedom Forum London 10/9/96

³⁵² Maltese, J. Spin Control: The White House Office of Communications and the Management of Presidential News (Chapel Hill 1992) p.3

³⁵³ Ibid p.4-5

³⁵⁴ Ibid p.4-5

information output.³⁵⁵ The attempts at influencing opinion and creating a public mood that can be described as hegemonic are obvious. While the timing of this statement proved to be very significant in Olympic terms, it was a political audience at which the speech was aimed. His emphasis was intended as a policy statement, in that from this point of view, particular political action could be suitably justified to the American population.

What can be said with increasing certainty is that politicians generally and to varying degrees increasingly set the news agenda and the majority of the general public come to accept the stance being taken even if they are denied access to all of the facts and information at the time.³⁵⁶ The key question is, how and when this process switched from a means of controlling information output, to become more insidious by more deliberate attempts being made at directly influencing opinion within the non-governmental arena. The purpose of the latter would be to create a hegemonic order within which any message is portrayed in a positive light and accepted by the population. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the practical political processes of public relations management soon developed a broader appeal, influencing organisations beyond the immediate political arena. This occurred as a result of the need for large and expanding corporate and governmental entities to protect and maintain their own public image. In the case of the Olympic movement, however, the ability to control information output is partially circumvented by the role that the media plays in the production of the Olympic Games as an entertainment spectacle. A certain amount of control of the Olympic image is abdicated in the deal. The media in all its forms is certainly a powerful 'estate'³⁵⁷ and not merely a vehicle for serving up official information output. Most of the concerns that control the global media nowadays rest with big, diverse and international corporations.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ Ambrose, S. Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938 (London 1993) p.320

³⁵⁶ The ability to manipulate public opinion in such a way is the dream of all would be politicians. Interestingly however, similar needs within global corporations highlight the extensive spread of such practices and their perceived efficacy. Chomsky, N. On Power and Ideology (Montreal 1987), pp.130-131

³⁵⁷ Curran, J. and Seaton, J. Power Without Responsibility p.50

³⁵⁸ Chomsky, N and Herman, E. Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media (London 1994) pp.3-14

Actors within the political arena have generally indulged in both occasional and concerted efforts at image maintenance. Indeed, the existence of an Official Secrets Act in the UK, with similar equivalents in most nations, indicates the value of sensitive information to a particular state apparatus. By centrally and organisationally determining information output, national governments and similarly sized influential, international organisations are carrying out a key operational function. They are simply recounting what they believe to be the truth and therefore what they believe needs to be told.³⁵⁹ In many cases a version of events is produced and presented to suit their pre-determined agendas. A conference discussion at the Freedom Forum in London in 1996, further highlighted the specifics involved in this often-abstract process.³⁶⁰ In these presentations it was stated that the origins of the term spin-doctor is unclear, although it is generally recognised as appearing prominently in American politics throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Spin-doctors are presented as carrying out the same role as the old press officer, although they are characterised by providing a more smooth and controlled operation. While noting that attention spans within the general public are in a process of diminishing, sound-bite politics and the issue of the release of information has led to questions over the abuse of power. Effectively, the messenger has got in the way of the message.³⁶¹

Where personalities become more important than the policies within the political arena, fundamental issues are increasingly being sidelined. Indeed as Sir Bernard Ingham stated; 'Credibility and reality are essential, yet they are not very important for spin doctors as they tend to concentrate upon the image and the creation of tradition.' He suggested that most journalists are interested in a story rather than an accurate story, and that the profession should learn to, '...take spin doctors with a pinch of salt...' while recognising the increasingly important issue of brand management within politics.³⁶² In fact, Peter Snow, the respected television journalist, stated that '... despite the

³⁵⁹ Ibid p.35

³⁶⁰ Johnson, J. 'Spin Doctors and the media: Feeding the Press or Starving the Public' Conference Paper at the Freedom Forum 10/9/96

³⁶¹ Ibid

³⁶² Ingham, B. 'Spin Doctors and the media: Feeding the Press or Starving the Public' Conference responses at the Freedom Forum (London) 10/9/96

disinformation put forward by spin-doctors, journalists should work harder at establishing the facts'.³⁶³ He also recognised that there are certain bullying aspects involved in the process of image maintenance by press officers and spin-doctors, even to the extent of journalists being called up and warned off certain stories.³⁶⁴ In many cases it is subtlety that is key to all attempts at successful and lasting, image management. Hard work is required behind the scenes to ensure that the task of image projection is successful.

The increasing centrality of the means of information transfer to national governments, especially those aligned to the capitalist west, has provided an operational framework for those nations and pressure groups that saw the advantages in such actions and sought to establish a degree of control over information transfer themselves. It should be remembered that this process is not confined to a particular nation, ideology or moment in history. Indeed, similar forms of control can be identified as in use by the Nazi propaganda machine in the 1930s and the communist Soviet bloc between 1945 and its dissolution in the late 1980s.³⁶⁵ All too often, the truth and what is presented as the truth can be very different.

(v) The presentation of the Olympic image.

The need for a carefully crafted image was a fact that did not escape the founder of the modern Olympic Games in the late nineteenth century. Pierre de Coubertin had recognised how his organisation would be reliant upon the popularity of the event itself, and so set about creating as spectacular and yet traditional an image as possible. In fact, his love of pageantry and ceremony was not strictly aesthetic, but also pragmatic in that it would create interest and desirability from a non-sporting crowd. Popularity was the key to the success of the fledgling Olympic movement and Pierre de Coubertin used all available media forms as promotional tools to present a popular yet idealised image of the

³⁶³ Snow, P. 'Spin Doctors and the media: Feeding the Press or Starving the Public' Conference responses at the Freedom Forum (London) 10/9/96

³⁶⁴ Ibid

³⁶⁵ Brown, J. Techniques of Persuasion pp.107-110 and, Fulbright, J. The Arrogance of Power (London 1970) pp.171-172

organisation.³⁶⁶ The extent of his writings on Olympic matters provides an example of how important it was for him to communicate his message. It is notable that in order for the successful dissemination of information, the IOC President has to be fully aware of, and believe wholeheartedly in, the particular policy stance being taken. Notably, the hegemony projected by official comment seemed to have been more freely consumed by the public and the news media during the early years of the Olympic movement. Indeed, the situation within the Olympic organisations could be described as comfortably flexible. Individuals could link organisational idealism to their own personal motives and agendas. Operationally the continued adherence to the status quo upset few within the establishment. History has subsequently shown that over time, the over-reliance on a form of passive pragmatism does not work sufficiently well anywhere, and can ultimately prove detrimental to the organisation.

The Olympic image, as officially presented prior to the 1950s, was generally accepted with few questions from the media, or in turn from the majority of its readership and audience.³⁶⁷ Radio was an important medium at a time when the transmission of the Olympic message was the primary goal of the organisation. However, the role of newsreels in projecting an image of the Olympic Games to cinema audiences was an enduring aspect of Olympic communications throughout the post-Second World War period. Newsreels and radio quickly became the most accessible media forms with a relatively large number of people as opposed to newspapers and the print media able to enjoy a broadcast at the same time. A new level of interaction between the delivery system and the audience had begun. The development of radio, newsreels and latterly of television became focal points for the gathering of varied families, friends and neighbours from a particular locale. A new social aspect characterised the consumption of media output.

³⁶⁶ Indeed, Pierre de Coubertin's use of the media of the day as a vehicle for projecting his Olympic message is unrivalled by later IOC presidents. For example: De Coubertin, P. The Olympic Idea (Stuttgart 1966) and The Philosophic Foundation of Modern Olympism, Radio Broadcast (Berlin 1935) in. IOA Museum and Library, Olympia, Greece.

Since media technology has developed during the past Olympic century, all of its forms, although television in particular, have transformed the process of conveying an Olympic message to an audience. In fact the Olympic Games themselves have to some extent provided a test-bed for new technology and therefore have inadvertently assisted certain technological advances in their practical operations. The incorporation of the innovative communications technology of the time into the presentation of the Berlin Olympics of 1936 provides an early example.³⁶⁸ Innovative camera-work is the most recent manifestation of this process. Prior to and during the Atlanta Olympics of 1996, the development of increasingly complex and sophisticated camera machinery provided the viewers at home with pictures and angles that television producers had not previously even attempted. For example, the introduction of underwater and tracking cameras, covering the swimming and diving competitions were especially well received by the television audience.³⁶⁹ The presentation of the events as a spectacle remains enduringly popular, and helps to sustain the heady image of Olympic competition.

Undoubtedly the pace and variety of change, during the twentieth century has increased. Particularly significant factors that have influenced this shift (from the point of view of the wider analysis undertaken here) were the numerous technological advances in global communications throughout the 1960s and 1970s. The quickening of change brought significant external pressures and challenges to bear upon the Olympic reality. The Olympic organisations therefore had to learn to recognise those relevant agents of change and embrace the pressures as opportunities wherever possible. In many respects the recent difficulties experienced by the Olympic movement (especially those related to the Salt Lake City bid for the 2002 Winter Olympics) resulted from the inability of the authorities to embrace the opportunities presented by such pressures.

³⁶⁷ As the print media became more critical of the Olympic movement and the events at the Olympic Games, the development of radio and later, television provided the authorities with alternatives to the traditional media forms. Brown, J. *Techniques of Persuasion* pp.159-163.

³⁶⁸ Closed circuit television experimentation within Berlin itself, also Leni Reifenstahl's highly idealised film; *Olympia* showed the Olympic authorities as well as the audience the wider potential of the burgeoning new technologies.

³⁶⁹ BBC1, 'The Greatest Show On Earth' 12/8/1996

Some observers refer to the relationship between business interests, the media and Olympic sport as unique. While this particular relationship will be examined in full in the next chapter, it should be made clear at this point that the Olympic movement and the global media interact and to some extent rely upon each other for the continued mutual successes of their differing purposes. To call the relationship unique is an overstatement as there are numerous equivalents to be found between the media and its other broadcast partners. Significantly, neither the Olympic movement nor the media is totally reliant upon the other in order to operate effectively. However, business interests and advertisers trade upon their association with a positive Olympic image, through the global reaches of the media. This indirect funding relationship is clearly condoned within Olympic circles. Nevertheless, it is officially stated that any over-reliance upon this source is an unacceptable situation for the Olympic movement to find itself in.³⁷⁰ This particular aspect of the economics of the relationship – especially related to the operation of the bidding process – will be more fully examined in the final chapter.

The interaction between the sharpness and desirability of the Olympic image and the levels of commercial sponsorship accrued is only implied here and, in any event, obtaining a wider and broader public profile for both the Olympics and their sponsors' products remains a relatively simple process. Nevertheless, only the foolish would discount this process as being unsophisticated and haphazard. The Olympic movement, as any other organisation, views this link between image maintenance and sponsor loyalty as something peripheral to their attempts at control - almost an unforeseen by-product of an abstract organisational process. This is far from the reality of the situation. The Olympic Games, the Olympic ideal of Olympism and the Olympic symbols, all contribute to the carefully nurtured, dynamic, yet abstract concept of the Olympic image. How much of this image is deliberately manufactured and adapted to suit both potential sponsors and the official line is usually unclear.

³⁷⁰ It is noteworthy regarding Olympic finances that 30% of revenues are derived directly from sponsorship, whereas a further 50% comes from television. Of this 50% received from television, the majority is passed on to the Organising Committee. The financial outlay by the television companies is supplemented by the

Much is made in the Olympic Charter of the process of vetting sponsors for suitability, although the criteria employed are flexible enough to allow a wide variety of possible outcomes. The long-established tradition of involvement with commercial interests and sponsors has affected all aspects of the Olympic structure. However, there is nothing that clearly determines whether the desire to control information was and still is part of an ongoing and deliberate process, or rather simply a result of achieving the organisation's stated operational goals. By now turning to consider the potential of new media forms and technological development to affect the Olympic dynamic, it is possible to extend the analysis by gaining an insight into how the Olympic movement reacts to new developments.

(vi) New media forms.

Within global societal structures throughout the last 150 years, highly significant scientific and social changes have occurred at particular points in time.³⁷¹ Such changes, and the rates at which they occurred, have all affected to varying degrees the composition of values and ideals at a societal level. The one certainty about such social change is that a reappraisal of behaviour within the group dynamic was required as an ongoing necessity. It then follows that, as these media forms developed new variants and a more sophisticated means of operation, the organisations within society that they reported upon had to increasingly be aware of how they managed their dealings with the media and its representatives. As the reach of each of the new media forms at first slowly and latterly with increased efficiency expanded across the globe, the effectiveness of the process of information transfer was tested and improved.

In recent years the widespread growth in access to computers and information technology has transformed the more fundamental relationship between the Olympic Games and their audience. Subsequently, the growth in the reach of the Internet and the development of more portable personal communications will only continue this process. The immediacy of new technologies has provided a further degree of accountability to

sale of advertising and sponsorship, alongside the Olympic broadcasts. Allison, L. in, Allison, L. (Ed) *The Changing Politics of Sport*. (Manchester 1993) pp.100 – 101

³⁷¹ <http://www.mediahistory.com/time.html> Media History Timeline 14/9/1999

the Olympic authorities as well as, somewhat ironically, providing them with a unique means of information exchange and an important vehicle for getting their desired message across. It is therefore now possible that dissent can be voiced via this new information technology, primarily due to the physical size of such information networks and the geographical spread of participants engaged in any such debate or dissent. This undoubtedly allows a certain freedom of comment although little in terms of a structure or organized process. The potential of this particular medium to effect change is tremendous although up to now largely unrealised.

Despite the seemingly unwieldy and uncontrollably diverse nature of information exchange within the present era of media technology, the IOC has tried to impose its presence upon new advances. An example of this is how they have sought to control any media that seeks to use the Olympics or its symbols.³⁷² The Olympic movement justifies their attempts at this and other media controls by concentrating upon how they have to protect the Olympic symbols and the allied image of the Olympic philosophy for the continued success of the Olympic Games. What is actually being preserved is the ability of the Olympic movement to establish and control the organisational tenets, central to the philosophy of Olympism, and therefore preserve the perceived sanctity of the Olympic Games as a quadrennial event. This is a subtle distinction and a precarious balancing act for the Olympic movement. Organisations will increasingly require specific structural forms in order for them to be able to take full advantage of the new opportunities afforded by the 'Information Age'. Whether these forms currently exist within Olympic structures – or are likely to soon – remains to be seen.

The power of the media is the strongest weapon in a government's armoury, indeed media bias has become a most obvious aspect of industrial, political and military matters. The exhibition of media bias can be seen to deny the general population the information that they need for democracy to flourish.³⁷³ Furthermore, it can also prevent

³⁷² Wheatly, K. 'IOC Seeks to Profit from Tangled web' in, Sunday Times 8/2/1998 The control over this aspect of the Olympic operation is vital to maintaining the exclusivity and positive association so desired by sponsors, advertisers and television companies.

³⁷³ Benn, T. in, Curran, J. Ecclestone, J. Oakley, G. and Richardson, A. (Eds) Bending Reality p.236

them from hearing their own views presented fairly. The nurturing of a healthy scepticism represents an important advance for those who hope to defeat any media bias. As Tony Benn states, 'People should be able to read the facts and yet also hear a diversity of opinions so that they can then draw their own conclusions.'³⁷⁴

Even if this point of view is on the idealised side of naivety, especially within modern media systems, should this preclude the expectation within society of a more open and inclusive media process? Such elements as covert and overt regulation, coupled to the massive power of capital, explains much in terms of how the ideological climate is constructed and maintained. However, increased openness is in itself insufficient, as the momentum towards democracy cannot be easily halted. Democratic practice is the most effective force that can be applied to the operation of the media, in all its guises.³⁷⁵

Conclusion.

From the early commercially printed texts via the daily print media, through to the development of telegraphy, the telephone, radio, and then, in the last sixty years, the introduction of television, the different media forms have grown and evolved from the media technology and practice that had preceded them.³⁷⁶ Business entrepreneurs and inventors provided these new media forms with the impetus required to develop both commercially and financially. This, in turn, gradually had a knock on effect for their scope of operations and eventually their profitability, as a succession of innovations and inventions were introduced which further facilitated the transfer of information. These innovations were initially developed within the print media, yet early in the twentieth century, it became both possible and practicable to transmit information via radio waves. More recently, with television pictures being bounced off satellites or detailed information transferred instantaneously via the Internet, it is clear that information exchange has changed significantly during the last century. Furthermore the nature of the interaction between the media delivery systems and the audience or viewer has also

³⁷⁴ Ibid pp.238-240

³⁷⁵ S.Hall, S. in, Curran, J. Ecclestone, J. Oakley, G. and Richardson, A. (Eds) Bending Reality pp.13-14

³⁷⁶ <http://www.mediahistory.com/time.html> Media History Timeline 14/9/1999 see also Winston, B. Media, Technology and Society

changed, and with the future introduction of digital technology it is envisaged that this will develop and change further as interactivity becomes the norm.³⁷⁷ The ability of the Olympic movement in its present form to deal with the pressures associated with such advances remains uncertain.

Progress in media technology and the implications of the introduction of new media forms into the global political mix have significantly and diversely affected the agendas of governments and societies worldwide. Indeed, the nature of this shift is both complex and dynamic, in the sense that each technological advance was, at least initially, setting its own agenda. However, a particular society or organisation will not immediately embrace and incorporate all new technologies at the rate at which they appear. History is littered with numerous excellent and reliable technologies that were simply rejected or not wholly embraced by the market. Every advance within media technology has to varying degrees facilitated a gradual, structural reappraisal of societal morals, ethics and values as well as directly affecting the practicalities of that particular society's development. This process of adapting old practices and adopting new technologies permeated the Olympic movement and became irreversible in the years prior to the post-war consumerism of the 1950s. The expansion of operations in this way has affected the scope of the organisation as a whole and contributed to more bureaucratic structures.³⁷⁸ Importantly, it should be remembered that regarding linguistic points of reference, there are significant differences between those receiving and those disseminating information.

Post-war consumerism and the spread of communication technology have undoubtedly played a significant role in the wider process of the adoption and adaptation of such new technologies within societies across the globe. It is clear that due to cultural

³⁷⁷ It can be argued that the only realistic way of providing complete coverage of the Olympic Games, and all of the different sports involved, would be via dedicated sports channels. However, the Olympic movement seeks the widest spread of coverage in order to promote the Olympic message. This tension allows the terrestrial broadcasters a favoured position, but with this also comes responsibility. Too often the coverage of an Olympic Games becomes coloured by a national broadcaster's bias.

³⁷⁸ Weber, M., in Pugh, D. (Ed) Organization Theory: Selected Readings (London 1997) p.13 See also Slack, T. and Hinings, B. 'Understanding Change in National Sport Organisations: An Integration of Theoretical Perspectives', in Journal of Sport Management (Vol. 6 1992) p.128

differences the global image is not necessarily consistent. It remains a fact of social dynamics and societal change, that a specific society has to be amenable to an advance whether in the form of an invention or innovation for it to be utilised to any significant degree. In many cases image making is a human process linked to the prevailing context of international relations. However, inequalities related to developmental and cultural differences between the nations affiliated to the Olympic movement, and how these in turn relate to the sophistication and freedom of the media, further clouds the issue even nowadays. In subsequent chapters the emphasis will increasingly highlight the IOC's attempts at managing the change process.

What is clear is that image control necessitates a version of events being presented to suit pre-determined agendas. In the case of the Olympics these are most often linked to the need to preserve the status of the Olympic symbols and the Olympic image in the face of occasional negative and damaging issues and allegations. What further chapters will seek to examine is whether the inter-related issues and pressures detailed here have adversely affected the Olympic Games as a desirable and relevant event at the turn of the twenty-first century. What are the implications of these issues for the dissemination of the Olympic philosophy of Olympism and the continued popularity of the Olympic Games? Invariably the immediacy of access to information has developed and improved over time. Furthermore, the content as presented to the audience was usually accepted as being reliable and trustworthy. This resulted in a facilitating of the information transfer process as well as significantly increasing the rate of acceptance of change. There is the possibility of the addition of facts or a change of emphasis that can alter the reception of a message or the perception of an image. More fundamentally, some questions present themselves as we examine this process. Are our expectations of the Olympic movement different from the practicalities? If so, then what are the long-term implications for the organisation?

In general terms, the factors that colour our personal expectations of an Olympic Games and the associated administration of it will affect how receptive we are to it as a sporting spectacle as well as to the images and ideals that are associated with it. The

structural dynamic will be analysed more fully in the final chapter, where all relevant organisational determinants are included. This analysis will highlight the situation within the Olympic movement, particularly regarding the delivery of the desired official image. However, the emphasis will now shift to concentrate more directly upon the interaction between the media and the Olympic movement, and the peculiarities associated with that developing relationship over time.

Chapter 5

SYMBIOTIC OR PARASITIC? THE DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT AND THE MEDIA, RELATED TO THE PROMOTION OF THE OLYMPIC IMAGE.

Throughout this chapter, the analysis will shift slightly from a purely historical approach, to examine in more specific terms the unique relationship between the global mass media and the modern Olympic movement. What then do we mean by the terms Symbiotic and Parasitic? A symbiosis relates to: ‘...an association of two different organisms existing attached to each other, usually to their mutual advantage’,³⁷⁹ while a parasitic model relates to a, ‘Self-seeking, hanger-on, an organism that lives in or on another, and drawing nutrient from it, an unprofitable dependent person or thing’.³⁸⁰ At first glance, it would seem that a symbiosis is possible when applied to the context of the relationship between Olympic organisations and the media. Initially, however, a parasitic model, as defined above seems less plausible.

On one hand, Levinson has viewed the relationship between the Olympic movement and the media as being symbiotic in nature,³⁸¹ whereby both sides benefit from their association. But on closer examination it is more plausible to argue that this relationship has actually been both symbiotic and parasitic in nature at different points in time. While the relationship between the media and sport has always been symbiotic to varying degrees, some observers go as far as to state that the Olympic Games are now mainly a spectacle constructed by and for the media.³⁸² The influence of the media and how this might have affected the practicalities of Olympic sport identifies a rich vein for further analysis of the actual extent of media management.

As Garry Whannel states so eloquently, ‘Whatever else the Olympic Games have been, they are now the ultimate media festival...an occasion staged for the cameras, and seen by a large proportion of the world on television.’³⁸³ However, as we have identified,

³⁷⁹ Concise Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford 1978) p.1171

³⁸⁰ Ibid p.800

³⁸¹ Levinson, D. in, Levinson, D. and Christensen, K. (Eds) Encyclopedia of World Sport p.620-1

³⁸² Larson, J. and Park, H-S quoted in, Levinson, D. and Christensen, K. (Eds) Encyclopedia of World Sport pp.622

³⁸³ Whannel G. in, Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Five Ring Circus p.30

this has not always been the case. The media was on the periphery of the Olympic movement until the mid-1950s. Television soon became central to the public's experience of the Olympic Games following the Rome festival in 1960. This position was strengthened further with the live pictures via satellite of the Olympics from Tokyo in 1964. Now that a substantial global audience could experience the Olympic Games simultaneously on television, the event itself began to take off. This analysis can be illustrated through other examples of how the two agencies interact; e.g. the way that the mass media has become a key provider of organisational revenues for the Olympic Games and the wider Olympic movement, since the late 1960s. The notion of a symbiosis existing between the Olympic movement and the mass media at certain points in time is plausible enough. The inherent instability of that given position is clearly illustrated by the following observation,

For the media sport is a marketable product; let any branch of it lose its commercial appeal and the media will find another commercially successful product with which to associate itself. The symbiotic relationship between media and sport in general can last only as long as people care.³⁸⁴

In the case of parasitism, it is possible to argue that the wider picture has been partially missed. A parasitic relationship implies a destructive element on the part of one of the groups involved.³⁸⁵ While there are certain examples that could support this charge, it is perhaps most practical in terms of this analysis to look upon both symbiosis and parasitism as possible representations of the relationship between the Olympic movement and the media.

Undoubtedly within this relationship and in the context of the maintenance of the Olympic image, there are numerous other influences that have been vital to the image of Olympic sport and which will be important for the future development of it. Not least of these is the influence of business interests, including the role of sponsors and advertisers. Clearly the terminology employed and the clarity of structural definition is vital when dealing with such complex organisations as the IOC and the Olympic movement,

³⁸⁴ Larson, J. and Park, H-S in Levinson, D. and Christensen, K. Encyclopedia of World Sport p.631

involving labyrinthine internal relationships, as well as the aims and motives that affect the organisational direction of Olympic actuality. The reader should refer to those working definitions established in the introduction to this thesis.

By now considering the range of historical developments that have affected the relationship between the various media forms and the Olympic movement, this provides a basis for further examination and analysis. Initially this chapter will emphasise the development of an increasingly close relationship between the Olympic movement and the media. Even from the early days of the modern Olympic revival movement, any dependence of the Olympic Games upon the media developed over a period of time. This was part of a wider process of sport being increasingly covered in both the traditional print and the expanding broadcast media. Crucially, and related more specifically to the notion of 'media management' in terms of the relationship between the Olympic movement and the global mass-media, it is a term that conjures up a variety of images and ideas. Within the historical context of the development of an international mass media, it has been shown in the previous chapter that there are definite links between the development of the media and the operation of the Olympic movement. At the same time, however, much of this had not involved much direct co-operation or mutuality. A separate yet parallel development on the part of the two main actors in the relationship under consideration is evident, at least as much as open co-operation over time is concerned. When this is considered alongside a detailed overview of the growth and development of the IOC and the wider Olympic structures, it will be shown that the relationship between the Olympic movement and the mass media is more than simply symbiotic.

By referring to the media, it should be made clear that this does not just mean television, despite its present centrality to modern society and culture and even though it may be one of the most obvious and influential of the media forms. More generally and for the purposes of this piece the media will include the following significant developments: print in 1896, wireless telegraphy and radio in the 1920s, TV in the 1960s

³⁸⁵ Concise Oxford English Dictionary p.800

and satellite by 1970. Recently, internet and new technologies have slowly increased their influence upon the Games since the early 1990s. Indeed each new media development, it can be argued, has grown out of the preceding media forms and has affected the specific nature and tone of official Olympic comment, and in turn, the emphasis of the desired Olympic image.

The next section considers the process of how broader social and cultural transformations related to the media within the latter half of the twentieth century have influenced the sporting arena and more specifically the Olympic image. Central to this examination will be the growing role of global capitalism throughout the period from the end of the Second World War, and the cultural blending that occurred as a result, even in the context of the Cold War.³⁸⁶ It is interesting that nowadays almost all of us accept global capitalism as the prevailing, dominant economic doctrine. This is especially the case for the majority of those nations affiliated to the IOC. Wider social and cultural issues can be viewed as being very important in terms of providing signposts for identifying social changes over the period in question.

Clearly, societal shifts have affected how the majority of the population lives, including the forms that recreational pursuits take, as well as the time, money and effort that they put into sporting endeavour. The competitive ethic – so central to capitalism – is certainly something that has been promoted by the United States and the western European states within the framework of global sporting events, of which the Olympic Games has become probably the most important and certainly the biggest example. In light of this, the latter part of this chapter will concentrate upon the internal moves within the IOC and the Olympic movement to adopt and incorporate a proactive public relations emphasis for the organisation. This will provide a practical model for an analysis of the Olympic image, something that can too often be seen as abstract and somewhat intangible.

³⁸⁶ Ambrose, S. Rise to Globalism pp.60-93 and Kennedy, P. The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers (London 1988) pp. 459-533

(i) The Olympic movement and the Media (1896 – 1936).

While the print media were present at the first modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896, the relatively poor state of communications technology hampered their efforts at reporting events. Nevertheless, as was established in Chapter 4, the early IOC Presidents, especially Pierre de Coubertin, recognised the importance of presenting the Olympic message as a means of promoting the Olympic movement and its ideals to the prevailing media forms of the day. Despite their best efforts and even with the later advent of radio, the media was a peripheral actor within the Olympic movement during the period up to the outbreak of the First World War. Nevertheless, as the technological developments were becoming more practically useful – those that were more exhaustively detailed in the previous chapter – the importance of the media to the Olympic movement grew.

Radio became generally more important within society as an official form of communicating with the population throughout the 1920s. As consumption of this new media form grew, the potential for making profits was recognised. Indeed radio became a \$60m business in the United States by 1922.³⁸⁷ It helped to promote the ideas and values related to a number of newsworthy items. The Olympic Games positioned itself as a regular yet unique global sporting festival with a humanistic mission. Any analysis of the media and the Olympic movement, especially related to the projection of an official image, has to involve the values associated with the Olympic philosophy of Olympism. Although radio had its heyday between the 1920s and 1940s, it continues as a significant media form as far as sport and the Olympic Games are concerned even today. However, the lack of a pictorial element has hampered and sidelined radio as the primary effective medium for communicating the Olympic image. This role was still very much carried out via the photographic imagery in the print media. As radio reached its peak, experimentation into the development of television was beginning to show practical signs of success.

Although uniquely nationalistic, it was the Berlin Games of 1936 that saw the first practical efforts at televising Olympic events. This was attempted through an experiment

³⁸⁷ Winston, B. *Media, Technology and Society* pp.77-78

with closed-circuit television within the host city.³⁸⁸ More importantly, this demonstrated that the technology that was now in place proved that it was possible to transmit live pictures of the Olympic Games. The Olympics of 1936 also more generally provided an example of how such a gathering could be used to transmit a specific ideology or message alongside the Olympic image.³⁸⁹ As an interesting aside related to the wider context of this thesis, the media were subjected to certain controls on official comment from the official channels of the Berlin Olympic Organising Committee. In fact counter-surveillance especially of the foreign press was rife.³⁹⁰ Furthermore, the introduction and adaptation of new technologies after 1945 was important for developing generally accepted practice for broadcasters and media interests as a whole. As a result of these advances in technology, the Olympic authorities were forced to reappraise their projection of a particular image to a global audience. This image, as it was, had often been presented in a non-committal and a matter-of-fact, even conservative manner throughout the late 1930s and 1940s.³⁹¹ The problems related to the tone and content of official comment were not being dealt with effectively by the Olympic movement.

It is particularly noteworthy that historically, the image of the IOC in the world's pressrooms has not always been that of an organisation with especially worthy ethics and values.³⁹² Yet those within the media who were willing to openly show dissent to the IOC, in the post-Second World War period, were few as they were directly under threat of having their accreditation cut. The Olympic movement was still struggling to fully establish itself globally. It should be recognised that at this stage it was still relatively unimportant in an international sense. The threat of the withdrawal of accreditation was only rarely acted upon, yet even the threat itself of the sanction was almost as effective a deterrent. So there existed a situation whereby few were willing to highlight

³⁸⁸ Ibid p.97

³⁸⁹ Mandell, R. *The Nazi Olympics* Preface p. xxi – xxii.

³⁹⁰ Wilson, P. in Lord Killanin and Rodda, J. (Eds) *The Olympic Games* p.107

³⁹¹ The Olympic movement was assisted through this period of political turmoil and war by their status as a non-affiliated organisation within the neutral territory of Switzerland.

³⁹² 'World peace is too precious to be upset by athletic outbreaks', *The Times* editorial, 17/4/1920 and A.Daley 'On Trimming the Olympic Program' *New York Times* 25/8/48 p.12 in, Box 109, *Press Analysis*. Maxwell, W. 'Trouble On Olympus' *Chicago Tribune* 12/11/63 in, Box 230, *Press*, also Memo from Lord Killanin to Avery Brundage and Executive Committee 'IOC and Press-Public Relations' 2/10/66 Box 101, *IOC Public Relations and Press Commission* in, *ABC at U of I*

discrepancies or tensions between Olympism as a theory and the practical use of Olympism within the Olympic movement. It is safe to say that during the early period of the developing relationship the Olympic movement needed the help of the media to transmit its message, more than the media needed to be involved with the reporting of the Olympic Games. Soon however, benefits were derived for both parties as a result of the way that the dynamic of their interaction shifted over time.

Despite this underlying instability, both operationally and organisationally, the Olympic movement was in no position to tackle the media, as it remained weak until well into the post-Second World War period. One of the few early examples of critical media coverage was the diplomatic storm that developed as a result of the differences in approach to competition, between the United States and the UK during the 1908 London Olympics.³⁹³ (For a fuller analysis of the historical development of specific Olympic Games see Chapter 2.) However, even the coverage of this controversy was sympathetic to the Olympic movement, taking the tone that the Games themselves had been tarnished as a result of the episode, even though little of the blame was aimed at the Olympic movement themselves.³⁹⁴ Although this period was a testing time for the Olympic authorities and their attempts to promote their growing movement, (within the context of both organisational and international strains as well as the role being played by the new and developing media forms) their primary organisational aim had been achieved. This was the survival and continuation of the Olympic Games as a quadrennial festival of sport. In consideration of the main thrust of this chapter, it would be folly to suggest that the developing relationship was either wholly symbiotic or indeed in any way parasitic up to this stage.

³⁹³ Matthews, G. 'The Controversial Olympic Games of 1908...' in, Journal of Sport History (Summer 1980) pp.44-46

³⁹⁴ Ibid pp.50-52 Interestingly, the preceding 1906 'Intercalary' Games, in Athens are still not officially recognised as an Olympic Games.

(ii) The Olympic movement and the Media (1948 – 1984).

During the post-Second World War period, each developmental stage of the mass media was crucial with regard to the wider issue of how each media form affected the dynamics of Olympic sport. This period is perhaps that which experienced the most discontinuity and pressure from external change, including the growing significance of rights fees from broadcasting interests and the direct intrusion of political tensions. Furthermore, transformations in the nature of the media and the power and reach of its output illustrate the profound change that has occurred within this particular relationship throughout the last century. Following the growth of radio and television primarily in the United States and the UK, the relationship between the Olympic movement and the media grew and developed new sophisticated processes. The commercial impact on the operation of the media in general meant that it was only a matter of time before this in turn impacted on the Olympic Games. This establishes that there is a long-term historical link between media coverage and the popularity of sport. The fact that a sporting event will provide relatively cheap and yet in-demand programming undoubtedly played a part in this.³⁹⁵ Despite the mutual benefits that existed at an organisational level within this arrangement, the athletes and the audiences for such major sporting events as the Olympic Games were usually treated as participants who should be pleased just to be allowed to take part. A comparison with the present day situation, whereby the athlete is a commodity within the production of the wider Olympic Games (provided to the audience as images for consumption) illustrates how the link between the parties involved has developed. This also highlights the complexity of the process of image transmission, including how broadcasters and promoters cover an event. When they secure the rights to the coverage, they then seek ways to produce the event effectively for their audience, and maximise the involvement of their business partners.

In 1948 the BBC paid £1500 for the full broadcast rights to the London Olympic Games,³⁹⁶ yet there was no real attempt to regulate this aspect of the Olympic spectacular

³⁹⁵ Vanwynsberghe, R. and Ritchie, I. '(Ir)Relevant Rings: The symbolic consumption of the Olympic logo in postmodern media culture' in, Critical Reflections On Olympic Ideology: 2nd International symposium for Olympic Research Conference Proceedings. University of Western Ontario (1994) Vol.2, pp.126-7

³⁹⁶ Whannel, G. in, Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Five Ring Circus p.42

until 1956.³⁹⁷ This regulatory process arose out of a dispute prior to the Melbourne Games, related to what constituted news footage as opposed to entertainment and event footage.³⁹⁸ The IOC had therefore made concessions to the needs of broadcasters, as far back as Melbourne in 1956, yet the need to develop a coherent organisational strategy regarding the growing demands of the media was not fully recognised at that stage. An initial agreement was put in place for the Rome Olympic Games of 1960. However, even given the more definitive regulation of broadcast rights, the negotiations for television rights revenues were still a matter for the consideration of the particular Olympic Organising Committee (OOC). Of the \$4m paid by ABC for North American television rights to the Mexico 1968 OG, only \$150,000 went to the IOC.³⁹⁹ The IOC finally established formalised revenue division procedures as a matter of priority by 1966. This became known as the Rome formula.⁴⁰⁰ By the time the Olympics were being held in Munich in 1972 an agreement had been ratified whereby 33% of revenues from television rights went to the IOC for division equally between the IOC, the NOCs and the IFs, with the remainder of total revenues earmarked for the OOC.⁴⁰¹ With a formalised process for allocating revenues derived from broadcasting rights, and assisted by an increase in popularity of the event itself, the revenues derived from this source soon began to grow significantly. However, this came at a price, as broadcasters increasingly sought the most favourable terms for their production.

There are numerous examples of the re-scheduling of some events to fit in with prime-time American television networks, that give an indication of the growing power and influence of media interests. In many ways such problems, initiatives and compromises set the tone for the future expansion and development of the relationship between the Olympic movement and the media. In Montreal, at the 1976 Olympics, the 7,000 competitors taking part were for the first time, outnumbered by the 10,000 media

³⁹⁷ Wenn, S. 'Lights! Camera! Little Action: Television, Avery Brundage and the 1956 Melbourne Olympics' in, *Sporting Traditions* Vol.10 No.1 (Nov 1993) p.41

³⁹⁸ Ibid p.39. Naturally as the former type of footage was shorter, it was cheaper.

³⁹⁹ Lord Killanin *My Olympic Years* pp.20-21

⁴⁰⁰ See details of the Rome Formula. Wenn, S. 'Growing Pains: The Olympic Movement and Television 1966-1972', in *Olympika* Vol. IV University of Western Ontario (1995) pp.3-4

⁴⁰¹ Hill, C. in, Allison, L. *The Changing Politics of Sport* pp.100-101

representatives in attendance.⁴⁰² The financial mismanagement that marked this Olympic Games hid the fact that the event itself was fast becoming an uneconomic enterprise. Cold War tensions were also nurtured via the media at the Olympic Games. The Lake Placid Winter Olympic Games in 1980 saw the United States beat the Soviet Union in the semi-final of the Ice-hockey competition. That match, even more than the final, seemed to be a defining moment in the televising of the Olympics and more generally illustrated the importance of the Olympics to Americans.⁴⁰³

The ability of major global sporting events to provide such a national focus clearly helped to make the Olympic Games what they are today. Indeed, after the huge costs incurred by Moscow in staging the boycotted 1980 Olympic Games, it is possible to argue that the tension between the United States and the former Soviet Union carried an ailing Olympic movement through to the economic viability demonstrated at Los Angeles in 1984. However, it is unlikely that this directly helped either the public relations efforts of the Olympic movement or the promotion of a hegemonic Olympic image. Incredibly there are still many in the Olympic movement who believe that there is no place in sport for politics. It is more plausible that without the support from national political systems and the tensions exhibited between them there would be no meaningful sport at any level other than the individual.

The Los Angeles Olympic Games of 1984 became a watershed in terms of the media's involvement in staging a spectacle such as the Olympic Games as well as showing the way forward in terms of other forms of revenue generation. Organisational revenues were fundamentally transformed by the involvement of the media, specifically the \$225m secured by the LAOOC from broadcast rights, and as importantly, the growing influence of sponsors upon the media's production of sports broadcasts. As has already been noted in the previous chapter, the link between media interests and commerce was established at an early stage in the chronology. However, it was not until

⁴⁰² Whannel, G. in, Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Five Ring Circus p.30

⁴⁰³ See: Senn, A. Power, Politics and the Olympic Games p.179 Also, Nickerson, C. 'Red Dawn in Lake Placid: The semi-final Hockey game at the 1980 Winter Olympics as Cold War battleground', in, Canadian Journal of the History of Sport Vol.26 No.1 (May 1995) pp.76-9

1984 that all the parties involved in the relationship built upon this closely beneficial link as the festival gathered pace, both organisationally and financially. The reality of the major event with all the immediacy of live coverage has generally ensured large audiences that have in turn appealed to the sponsors and advertisers to support the festival. This has been done to such an extent that business interests effectively pay for television to cover the event. Perhaps it is the growing influence of business interests upon the relationship between the media and the Olympic movement that acts as the parasite.

(iii) The Olympic Games since 1984.

Anyone who has had even a passing interest in sport over the last twenty years in particular can identify with the fact that significant television airtime is devoted to major sporting events such as the Football World Cup and the Olympic Games. However, high proportions of these broadcasts are taken up by interviews, previews, post-mortems, action-replays and edited repeats. (Excellent non-Olympic examples of the communal character of televised events include the 1953 Coronation in the UK, the 1969 Moonshots and the global interest generated by the 1981 Royal Wedding, all of which drew huge audiences.⁴⁰⁴) Television plays a vital role in heightening the importance of whichever significant event is being broadcast. It has also helped to create the specific sense of a culturally important experience felt by many within the audience that is so often attached to global news and events.

The Olympic Games have certainly been turned into a major international occasion by this particular media form. So we see that sport in general has an almost unique ability to hold large audiences outside standard accepted peak times and broadcasters regularly amend their schedules to fit in major sporting events.⁴⁰⁵ Indeed, the Olympic Games are a source of popular pleasure, and yet it is apparent that television portrayals, as with other media forms, reproduce a series of ideological themes. These usually concern competitive individualism, attitudes to gender roles and national

⁴⁰⁴ Whannel, G. in, Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. *Five Ring Circus* p.30

⁴⁰⁵ Rowe, D. *Sport, Culture and the Media* (Buckingham 1999) pp.75-80

and racial stereotyping, providing an undercurrent to the events on display.⁴⁰⁶ Sport is generally one of the most saleable of international products. There is no discernible language barrier to the outcome of events and indeed a large number of sports are common across the globe.⁴⁰⁷

Huge sums were being paid throughout the 1980s and early 1990s for the right to broadcast the Olympic Games. These sums were determined by the size of audiences, the sale of advertising time and ongoing competition between the big three American television networks, whose rivalry goes back a long way.⁴⁰⁸ In 1976 ABC paid \$25m for American television rights, yet they made three times that amount by selling advertising at up to \$72,000 a minute.⁴⁰⁹ In 1980, NBC had paid \$87m for coverage of the Moscow Olympics, which included a fee of \$2m for insurance against non-participation by the United States, with Lloyd's of London.⁴¹⁰ By the time that the United States withdrew its participation, NBC had already recouped 96% of its outlay (\$83.5m) through advanced advertising sales.⁴¹¹ In the case of the Los Angeles Games of 1984, for which ABC had paid \$225m in rights fees, (as well as a further \$90m for the upcoming Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games) their advanced advertising sales had already brought in \$300m by the end of 1983. Demand from advertisers during this period had pushed rates up to around \$500,000 per minute.⁴¹² These huge advertising revenues gave the networks the impetus and economic power to compete in what effectively became an auction for the television rights to future Games. This subsequently sent the price soaring further, to the extent that not many believed that such exponential growth could continue indefinitely. Few other countries or even continents could rival the sums spent on television rights by the

⁴⁰⁶ Hargreaves, J. 'Olympism and Nationalism: Some Preliminary Considerations' in, International Review of Sociology of Sport, Vol.27 (1992). pp.121-124

⁴⁰⁷ Whannel, G. in, Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Five Ring Circus p.32 See also Rowe, D. Sport, Culture and the Media pp.71-74

⁴⁰⁸ ABC, NBC and CBS all vie for these broadcast rights as to be seen as the Olympic station is a matter of prestige for them as well as a commercial opportunity. See Gorman, J. Calhoun, K. and Rozin, S. The Name of the Game: The Business of Sports (New York 1988) pp.62-3

⁴⁰⁹ Aris, S. Sportsbiz: Inside the Sports Business (London 1990) p.51

⁴¹⁰ Guttmann, A. The Olympics p.149

⁴¹¹ Whannel, G. in, Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Five Ring Circus p.33

⁴¹² Ibid p.33

American networks. Indeed as Roone Arledge, head of sports programming at ABC, stated that, 'America has bought and paid for the Olympic Games'⁴¹³

It is no longer possible to describe televising as simply relaying the event; rather television produces an elaborate and entertaining show based on the event.⁴¹⁴ Notably, during the period from 1972 to 1984 the growth in revenues received by the Olympic movement from television in particular transformed the finances of every part of the organisation as well as the wider Olympic family. Indeed, it can be argued that had it not been for such an escalation of Olympic finances, the Games might no longer exist in any meaningful form. This over-reliance upon one source of revenue was soon obvious to many observers. While they accepted that the organisation had to find ways of paying for the festival, there were aspects of the Olympic image as promoted through the philosophy of Olympism that were not in keeping with this state of affairs. Indeed many within the Olympic movement including Avery Brundage and his successor as President, Lord Killanin had viewed this linkage as unhealthy and potentially dangerous for some time.⁴¹⁵ This aspect of the structural dynamic within the Olympic movement has been more extensively covered in previous chapters, therefore further expansion at this stage is not necessary or prudent. It is sufficient to state that the period between the 1960s and the early 1970s, was when the sale of Olympic television rights first began to attract more interested broadcasters.⁴¹⁶

What were the implications of this huge, largely unregulated growth for the Olympic image? Undoubtedly it was initially viewed as very positive; however, this required a reappraisal over time, something that the Olympic structure was not prepared for. Significantly, Rule 61 of the Olympic Charter states that, 'The IOC Executive Board alone has the competence to determine the principles and conditions under which any form of publicity may be authorized.'⁴¹⁷ Despite such efforts at centralised organisational

⁴¹³ Flashback Productions, 'Selling the Games' pt 4 of 6, The Games In Question (London 1988)

⁴¹⁴ Wenn, S. 'Lights! Camera! Little Action...' in Sporting Traditions Vol.10 No.1 (Nov 1993) p.38

⁴¹⁵ Ibid p.39. See also; Brichford, M. 'Avery Brundage, Money and Olympic Ideology' in Critical Reflections on Olympic Ideology Conference Proceedings, UWO (1994) p.64

⁴¹⁶ Wenn, S. 'Lights! Camera! Little Action', in Sporting Traditions: Vol.10 No.1 (Nov 1993) p.47.

⁴¹⁷ IOC, The Olympic Charter (Lausanne 1995) p.92

control of the form of the Olympic image, the influence of the media upon the Olympic reality remains important. Indeed, over the last forty years, it is television above all other media forms that has allowed the Olympic Games to grow to their present gigantic scale. Any attempt to analyse the Olympic movement and to reform its operation has to begin by deciding for whom the Games are primarily staged. Is it for the benefit of the media, business interests, the Olympic authorities, the competitors, spectators or a global television audience? Even a cursory analysis of the dynamic shows that all these groups are integral parts of the production of an Olympic Games.

It is further noteworthy to examine briefly the technical procedures that characterise the televising of an Olympic Games. There used to be a very clear distinction between the live, recorded and studio-based elements of a sports broadcast. Nowadays, such broadcasts offer a smooth, seamless blend of live action, recorded highlights, action replays, interviews and discussions. Dull moments can easily be filled with recorded segments, complete with a soundtrack, idealised images and edited split-screen highlights.⁴¹⁸ Television on occasion can involve the viewer in the events taking place to the extent that the Olympic image becomes superfluous. The symbolism employed within the staging of an Olympic Games reinforces the uniqueness of the event. Perhaps it is the case that the promotion and projection of the Olympic image is only really important in non-Olympic years as during the festival the sporting events can, as projected via the media, take on a life of their own. A favourable image in the various media forms in turn attracts greater sponsor involvement, therefore it seems that it is in everyone's best interests that the official image at least remains attractive and desirable. The ability of the media to effect structural change in the production of the Olympic spectacle (as the Olympic Games has now become) has been determined largely by the propensity of the audience to accept technological advances in the media coverage of the Olympic Games. Satellite technology, colour processing, graphic generators and further communication advances within the media since the late 1960s have meant more flexibility for broadcasters over the content of airtime and print space. This flexibility has allowed access to the more spectacular presentation processes.

⁴¹⁸ Whannel, G. in, Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. Five Ring Circus p.35

It is evident, however, that the Olympic movement and the media are very different in terms of their structural dynamic, their goals and their organisational behaviour. In this sense they make very incompatible bedfellows. The reality associated with communication exchange in the late 1990s, especially regarding the Olympic movement's dealings with the media, requires that there should be almost immediate official comment to issues as they arise. In the case of press releases, these are beamed around the globe instantly on having been made available to the media. This growing level of demand from the media for official comment has created its own unique pressure upon Olympic organisational structures. For example, the media sought immediate information and comment from official channels following the pipe bomb at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics. However, there was a significant procedural and practical delay until the official channels were able to react to the situation. Interestingly, the IOC has sought media representation on a number of its committees of enquiry and has even included such individuals within the IOC membership.

Generally the Olympic movement has increasingly sought to involve the international media bodies in the planning and implementation of a variety of operational activities and initiatives. In the summer of 1997, President Samaranch awarded the Olympic Order to Matti Salmenkyla, the Finnish secretary general of the International Sporting Press Association (AIPS) and also member of the IOC Press Commission. Indeed, the IOC took part in the tenth Congress of the International Association for Sports Information (IASI) in Paris in the same year.⁴¹⁹ Developing such links with the media clearly became a key initiative pursued by the Olympic authorities. Throughout the development of the relationship between the media and the Olympic movement, many challenges to the ability of the movement to cope with the media requirement for official comment have not been dealt with satisfactorily. Invariably these specifically relate to the effectiveness of Olympic communications. By implementing a policy of inclusion, the IOC has sought a closer involvement in the production of the media spectacle. It is not always a comfortable relationship.

⁴¹⁹ www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews268_e.html This Week's Olympic News No.268 13/6/97

(iv) How the Olympic Movement developed coherent public relations.

As indicated previously, the need for organisational public relations within the Olympic movement developed throughout the 1960s and 1970s as a result of the pressure on the organisation due to the increasingly sharp focus of media coverage and the substantial revenues being generated by the staging of the Olympic Games. (At the Avery Brundage Collection in the Archives of the University of Illinois, there exists information related to the structural development of public relations within the Olympic movement throughout the 1960s and early 1970s.) This structural development was far from ideal and was to cause definite organisational difficulties. In particular there was a simple physical issue: the fact that President Brundage was resident in Chicago and not at the Swiss offices of the IOC brought a certain degree of operational trouble for the IOC in the mid 1960s.

Johan Westerhof was the director of the IOC in the Swiss office, yet some of his actions and comments to the media proved to be detrimental to the organisation.⁴²⁰ This culminated in Brundage, with the co-operation of the majority of senior IOC members, seeking to remove Westerhof from office. His replacement was a former athlete from Mexico, Paul Stock, who travelled to Switzerland with the organisational mandate of the IOC President.⁴²¹ It was clear to Brundage that the media and relations with them had to be managed effectively. This is rather ironic given Brundage's own record of being particularly terse with the press.⁴²² The increasing institutionalisation of official comment in the late 1970s led to the development of a more strained and less mutually co-operative relationship between the Olympic movement and some areas of the media, especially certain investigative journalists working in the print media.⁴²³ The seemingly insatiable appetite for information, as well as the media's general demands, necessitated the introduction of a particular department responsible for press and public relations

⁴²⁰ Letters exchanged between Hugh Weir, Avery Brundage, Paul Stock and Monique Berlioux regarding the future of Johan Westerhof (Head of the IOC Headquarters) in the period up to December 1968. See Box 245, My Biggest Battles and Box 102, Olympic Committee: Administration in, ABC at U of I

⁴²¹ Letter from Avery Brundage to Paul Stock 1/12/1968 Box 102, Olympic Committee: Administration in, ABC at U of I

⁴²² See: Guttman, A. The Games Must Go On, pp.181-2 also Lord Killanin My Olympic Years p.158

⁴²³ See: Allen, N. Gardner, D. and Philips, B. 'How Long Can It Burn' in, World Sports Jan 1969 pp.8-11 also Jennings, A. and Simson, V. Lords of the Rings (London 1992)

within the Olympic movement. Crucially this also provided the organisation with valuable background information related to the media, especially in terms of how to maintain control over the Olympic image.

The role of the various IOC Presidents and their approach to dealing with the media, particularly since the 1960s, is crucial to establishing a coherent public relations emphasis. Indeed the record of the IOC as a whole in managing the Olympic image is to some extent a reflection of the relative success of a particular presidency, since so much organisational authority is wielded by the incumbent. Crucially, given continuing fundamental shifts in the Olympic movement and the pressing nature of external factors (e.g. the politically motivated boycotts of 1976, 1980 and 1984), many IOC members felt that organisational and operational issues were not being dealt with effectively or with a great enough urgency.

Juan Antonio Samaranch was appointed to the IOC presidency in 1980, as he was seen as someone who could assist in the progression of the Olympic movement towards achieving its organisational goals. A leadership shift was required given the growing influence of the media upon the Olympic Games, and the fact that more generally, radical change and social restructuring was ongoing. His background in diplomatic circles and his experiences of the often guarded emphasis of media relations within that environment allowed moves towards reform, while also providing the organisation with a greater awareness of the operation of the media. This provided him with invaluable personal qualities, many of which were directly applicable within the Olympic movement. And yet, despite many successes and the transformation of the movement into a profitable organisation, his presidency has been also on occasion rather problematic. His desire to restructure Olympic operations caused certain disquiet for some of those who had become very powerful within the previous administration.⁴²⁴ The developing role of the IOC's Department of Information is vital in this regard especially the role now carried

⁴²⁴ Monique Berlioux had been Director of the IOC since 1968, and ran the IOC office during Avery Brundage's and Lord Killanin's presidencies. Under Samaranch there was no place for her as the new President sought to re-establish control over an unwieldy organisation. See: Slack, T. Understanding Sport Organisations: The Application Of Organization Theory (Urbana 1998) p.178

out by Mme Verdier regarding press relations. She effectively manages the agenda at official press conferences as well as limiting the type of question and the time available. The similarity to the description of a spin-doctor, as detailed in the previous chapter, is obvious. Subsequently the introduction to this branch of the Olympic movement of Franklin Servan-Schreiber as deputy director of the new media relations section⁴²⁵ indicates the direction that the organisation is taking regarding all types of relevant new media.⁴²⁶ Interestingly in terms of the relationship with the media, President Samaranch can be said to be officially appeasing the media with statements that cloud the issue of actual power structures within the relationship between the media and the Olympic Games as an event. In fact, he stated during the Atlanta Olympics in 1996 that: ‘..the media are the real judges of the Olympic Games.’⁴²⁷ Whether he actually believes this implicitly is unlikely.

When considering issues related to the wider notion concerned with the actual ownership of sport, the media are clearly prominent in the equation. It is important to understand exactly how such implications can affect whole societies as well as those who both participate in and are spectators at an Olympic Games. There is, however, the associated issue over the accountability of the Olympic movement related to the decisions taken in the interests of world sport. The accountability of large public or private organisations can raise questions concerning whom such organisations are meant to serve. Particularly, in this case the crucial question is, in whose interests are international sporting contests being run? The IOC may well feel that they have more to lose by divulging sensitive information than they would gain. There is therefore a general sense within the organisation that they should guard sensitive information closely, by retaining it within the organisation. It is unlikely that the full picture will ever be obtained, as is often the case regarding the internal politics and policy of powerful international organisations. Nowadays within the IOC there exists a department entrusted with the dissemination of information to the press and the world’s media. The Department of

⁴²⁵ http://www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews347_e.html Olympic Highlights No.347, 17/12/98

⁴²⁶ Interview with Andrew Jennings. (London 16/8/2000)

⁴²⁷ Statement of the IOC President to the charges of organisational inadequacies that exist at the Atlanta Olympics of 1996, BBC1, The Greatest Show on Earth 12/8/96

Information was set up to oversee relevant issues regarding how to present information to the media, from the mid-1980s onwards. This has since become answerable to the Press Commission which in turn answers to the IOC Executive Board. This body undoubtedly holds some valuable clues related to the extent of IOC involvement in deliberately misinforming the media.

There are certain specific issues that have caused problems to the Olympic movement over its first century. As each of these potential problems has arisen, it has been necessary for the Olympic movement to deal with them in the context of the development and growth of the media, especially regarding the maintenance of a desirable organisational image. Existing and progressing under such a spotlight is never going to be easy. Among some of these issues are the eligibility of participants and what the specific qualification criteria for the Olympic Games actually are.⁴²⁸ This is linked to the issue of gigantism and how to manage the expansion of the events at successive Olympic festivals amid the background of political intrusion. Finally, the growth and increasing influence of commercial interests, television companies and sponsors, have to be taken into account.⁴²⁹ Perhaps the most publicised and contentious issue, however, is the use of drugs and performance-enhancing substances.⁴³⁰ Doping and substance abuse have the potential to be equivalent to a cancer within the Olympic movement. The need for sporting organisations to officiate over a level playing field cannot be over emphasised. Most observers accept that the rate of offending is significantly higher than information suggests, even when no one is officially being caught. The outcome of a new IOC approach to the problem, introduced for the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, provides an example of how serious they are about this particular issue. It will also identify how open and accountable the Olympic movement is capable of being in the post- Salt Lake City climate.

⁴²⁸ Gafner, R. in, Olympic Review No.42 (May 1971), p.24

⁴²⁹ Ibid pp.25-6 See also, Lucas, J. The Future of the Olympic Games p.16

⁴³⁰ Bryson, L 'Sport, Drugs and the Development of modern capitalism', in, Sporting Traditions Vol.6 No.2 (May 1990) Also note, the furore surrounding the exposure of Chinese Swimming officials entering Australia for the World Championships in 1997, with substantial caches of Human Growth Hormone (HGH). This led to a better understanding of the issues as well as how widespread drug use has become.

As was illustrated in Chapter 2, in a philosophical sense, Olympism's inherent intangibility is a quality that is clearly of huge value, especially to those within the Olympic movement who would seek to manipulate the organisational image. The IOC's Executive Board, wherein control is closely guarded, carries out such fundamental tasks as controlling the image and direction of the Olympic movement.⁴³¹ The image of the IOC as the moral guardians of the Olympic movement has been carefully nurtured over a long period. As importantly, the additional utilisation of both high ideals and traditions alongside more modern public relations practice at an organisational level, further serves to promote an assured and coherent image of the IOC. Once this has been established it facilitates any efforts at disseminating the Olympic message. Are the practical examples a reflection of the official image as it is presented? It would appear not, given the recent public allegations and resignations regarding the bidding process. Whether this actually matters in the longer term is an interesting point and is tied to the emphasis placed upon the projection of a desirable image from official Olympic channels, within non-Olympic years.⁴³² This clearly illustrates the dangers that exist within any organisational structure that attempts to centrally control its image. Access to what is deemed newsworthy is not always easily controlled. There will be other, new and increasingly pressing issues that have the potential to cause far-reaching problems for the IOC in future. The environmental impact of staging the Games has moved to the forefront of the agenda in recent years as has the tension that exists between the official Olympic values as espoused within the Olympic philosophy of Olympism, and the reality of the Olympic image as perceived across the globe.⁴³³

Difficulties occur when the actuality is obviously divergent from an official image or statement. As a growing cynicism develops within the general public that makes up the

⁴³¹ Memorandum from Lord Killanin to Avery Brundage, Box 110, Suggestions for improvements to the organisation of the Olympic Games 13/4/1965 See also, Letter from Lord Killanin to President Brundage on IOC Executive Board's endorsement of cities 1/12/1967 Box 208, Structural Review in, ABC at U of I

⁴³² Lotz, F. in, Olympic Review, No.47 (Aug 1971) p.440

⁴³³ Kidd, B. 'From "Excellence" to "Bread and Roses": The transformation of the Toronto Olympic Bid', Australian Society of Sports History Conference Paper, Canberra 1991 (Unpublished) See also, Kidd, B. 'The Toronto Olympic Commitment: Towards a Social Contract for the Olympic Games' in, Olympika Vol.1 UWO (1992)

viewing audience, problems will continue to arise over what the Olympic ideals actually mean, and whether they remain relevant. For example, what is the Olympic experience for the athletes, spectators and Olympic organising committees as well as the numerous volunteers and employees? All of these groups have valid questions as to their role in the maintenance of the Olympic image, that need to be addressed in terms of their position within the wider relationship between the media and the Olympic authorities. It is possible to argue that all of these groups have been at the wrong end of a parasitic relationship. Solutions to current problems, or at least the next course of action, are being increasingly determined by the demands of the mass media, their advertisers and in turn the whims of their audience.

Nowadays the televising of sport contributes significantly to the financial success of a variety of sporting events and leagues. For such involvement and financial outlay, certain concessions and accommodations are often expected in return from the media and broadcasters. As was previously noted, the removal of official accreditation is an ongoing and constant threat and is happily used by the IOC to keep unruly members of the media in line. Despite this there has been a growing proportion of the print media, in particular, which has felt it necessary to provide some degree of criticism and accountability where it deems relevant and necessary. The threat of removal of accreditation remains. While the writings of Jennings and Simson⁴³⁴ obviously annoyed the Olympic movement, it is clear that significantly pragmatic views of the image of the Olympic Games (antithetical to the official image) are widely held.

(v) Business Interests: The not-so-silent partner.

Undoubtedly, the link between business interests and the media is established clearly in the chronological development. This in turn directly affects the type of relationship that the media has with each of its partners including the Olympic movement. An excellent example is that of Transworld International (TWI). TWI is the largest producer of sports programmes in the world, who manufacture and sell made-for-

⁴³⁴ Jennings, A. and Simson, V. Lords of the Rings (London 1992), Jennings, A. The New Lords of the Rings (London 1996) and The Great Olympic Swindle (London 2000)

television sports programming for a wide range of channels across the globe. (Transworld Sport is probably the most famous of them.) They also act in the capacity of media agents, assisting in the negotiation of terms and contracts. Interestingly the link between the IOC and the International Management Group (IMG) was established via this association.⁴³⁵

Barry Frank was the head of TWI when he joined IMG in an advisory capacity. TWI has acted as an agent for the IOC (for the Winter and Summer Olympic Games) as well as for other sporting events such as the US and UK Open Golf, Wimbledon Tennis, as well as a host of other traditional and specifically developed products.⁴³⁶ Frank was as much of a salesman as a television entrepreneur. However, in January 1984, he pulled off a tremendous coup when he persuaded ABC into paying a then record \$309m for the rights to 1988 Winter Olympic Games in Calgary. This ultimately lost the network \$30m, yet TWI made \$2m in commission from the deal.⁴³⁷ There was a feeling that the IOC and their representatives had conned ABC, but this did not stop NBC from bidding \$401m for the rights to the Barcelona Olympic Games 1992.⁴³⁸ For Barry Frank, the IOC connection brings both profit and prestige, yet as far as he is concerned televised sport has little to do with time-honoured Olympian values: it is simply an annexe of the entertainment business. 'What TV sport is all about is basically head-to-head competition. That's what provides the action and the entertainment and makes it amusing to watch.'⁴³⁹

This suggests that the Olympic Games will continue to prosper as long as the agencies and organisations working on the fringes that effectively finance the show continue to do good business. As any powerful organisation's information output operation gets underway, and their product (in this case the Olympic Games) grows in popularity, steps are taken to attempt to establish, influence or even control the next form that official information output will take. The presentation of official information has a limited life-span and so in order to present a consistent image it is constantly necessary

⁴³⁵ Whannel, G. Fields In Vision: Television, Sport and Cultural Transformation, (London 1992) pp.75-77

⁴³⁶ Aris, S. Sportsbiz p.82

⁴³⁷ Ibid p.74

⁴³⁸ Ibid p.83

for the organisation to re-appraise operations and practices surrounding the transfer of information related to pressing issues and challenges. Regular updates of official comment and policy are required in order to retain some control. It is no coincidence that in the case of the Olympic movement, the post-Second World War period saw the phenomenal development of public relations and the wider effect of advances in information technology. All these factors have influenced the way in which the IOC and the wider Olympic movement have sought to manage and promote their image. Such factors are vital in determining the shift in emphasis that marks the formative period of IOC media management, and their more obvious attempts at the manipulation of the dissemination of information.

The extent to which Olympism and the associated symbolism are relied upon by the Olympic movement cannot be discounted. On the other hand, when the reality falls short of the image, such a close reliance can cause more harm than good for the public relations image. Especially important is how a particular form of organisational behaviour affects wider operational aspects. This also illustrates the power implied within the relationship between the Olympic movement, the media and business interests. At this point it is apt to consider a quotation from the late President of the IOA, Professor Nicholas Nissiotis, in 1981, indicating his views upon the relationship between the Olympic Games and outside interests. '[The] spiritual cultivation of Olympism more generally is very backward and underdeveloped compared with the brilliant development of the Olympic Games.'⁴³⁹ R.Paddick, a philosopher, continues: '...the two might be inversely related, as the Olympic Games has grown the pressures of commercialism, nationalism and politics have so modified the view of sport that the philosophy has been overwhelmed.'⁴⁴¹

An examination of the media and sporting organisations other than the Olympic movement raises further questions related to the accountability of organisations and their

⁴³⁹ Ibid p.55

⁴⁴⁰ Nissiotis, N. cited in, Jobling, I. 'The Olympic Movement as an expression of the world's power systems', Conference Paper 33rd IOA Summer Session Olympia, Greece (1993) p.142

⁴⁴¹ Paddick, R. cited in, Jobling, I. Ibid p.142

responsibilities to those that they serve. It is interesting to note how we would react if there were proposals to end the accountability of our political or legal representatives. It is clear that we react very differently towards a lack of openness in the key sporting organisations that are supposed to represent us. Organisational transparency was not an aspect of the culture of many such organisations when they were established a century ago. Are the media or other agents capable of providing the level of accountability for the Olympic movement that seems so urgently needed? What would then be the nature of the relationship, if this were actually to be the case? Structurally there are organisations within the wider Olympic movement that can perform the accountability function. These include the General Association of International Sports Federations (GAISF) and the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC). However, all too often their own vested interests get in the way of them carrying out this crucial role.

There has been a distinctly pragmatic view of information dissemination within the Olympic movement itself, which directly affects official comment. The desire to operate in the best interests of the organisation can be seen to tend at one level towards employing the media in a parasitic role within the relationship. The practice of pragmatic information management, acting from the top of the Olympic movement downwards, can be seen as being similar to the process of spin doctoring and media management. This became expected practice within major political parties in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s and increasingly within the UK throughout the 1980s and 1990s. This is especially so when dealing with the dissemination of sensitive information to the media. The practice within the Olympic movement of being selective regarding the details, focus and emphasis of official comment, aids in presenting an image acceptable to the media, whilst maintaining organisational control and direction. It is not, however, simply a case of providing the media with what it wants to hear, even assuming that the media's requirements were actually known. It has to be a carefully crafted statement of intent, reacting to a situation, whereby the positive is highlighted and the negative is dismissed. What is clear is that the IOC has made few attempts at genuine openness over the past century. The reality associated with communication exchange in the late 1990s, especially regarding dealings with the media, requires that there be immediate official

comment to issues almost as soon as they arise. It would seem that the Olympic authorities have not yet understood the implications of this new reality.

(vi) The current Olympic Image.

It was during the late 1980s that the less favourable, investigative accounts of the activities and the organisational reality of the Olympic movement began to appear. Notably, the IOC felt strongly enough about the charges levelled by Andrew Jennings and Vyv Simson in their book Lords of the Rings in 1990,⁴⁴² for the organisation to resort to legal action against the authors in the Swiss courts. The authors were later found guilty of libel in their absence. This resulted in each receiving a suspended prison sentence and a significant fine.⁴⁴³ The allegations levelled at the IOC were referred to, in Samaranch's official biography, as clumsy criticism and that, 'The book was the literary equivalent of football hooliganism, discredited by the emotional excess of its falsely-expressed allegiance'.⁴⁴⁴ The critique continued: 'Leaving aside their multitude of factual errors, false assumptions and illogical deductions, the authors wholly overlooked the financial benefits derived by NOCs from Olympic income, quite apart from the creation of facilities in the host city.'⁴⁴⁵

Many of those allegations that were deemed libellous back then have since been proved to have at least a grain of truth given the current evidence within the public domain. This again provides an example of the official line differing significantly from the reality. This is borne out by the practices of IOC members involved in the vote-buying scandal in the Salt Lake City bid for the 2002 Winter Olympic Games. Who has the power to remove such individuals from office should their performance be less than impressive or even corrupt? As journalists and reporters began to glean better quality evidence, the chinks in the public relations armour of the IOC began to show up as more substantial cracks within the wider Olympic movement. The difficulties experienced in

⁴⁴² The publication of Lords of the Rings stirred up protesting and critical voices within official channels in fact, it was almost as if the rogue media had breached a trust or violated an unwritten rule.

⁴⁴³ In fact the fine was never paid or collected. In the light of subsequent disclosures it would seem churlish for the Olympic movement to pursue the matter.

⁴⁴⁴ Miller, D. Olympic Revolution p.267

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid p.267

the aftermath of the scandal, related to operational practice as well as the ethical basis of the IOC and the wider Olympic movement, are capable of forcing the Olympic authorities to deliver overdue change.

The complex and fragmented nature of the Olympic movement, coupled with Olympism and its associated vague ideals, has allowed the organisational image and policy to be established centrally in a pragmatic and flexible manner. This is invariably done through the power wielded by the IOC, and its Executive Board.

Additionally, and a key factor in the ability of the Olympic movement to utilise such control, Olympism has served to set Olympic gatherings apart from other major international sporting events. The introduction of a set of ethics and values that are claimed to be more evident at the Olympic Games makes the event more desirable for participants and spectators alike. Importantly, it is widely perceived within sporting circles that the Olympic Games are still the pinnacle of world sport. Whether this continues in future remains to be seen.

More fundamentally, the future structure of the Olympic movement is uncertain given the implications of such allegations that presently challenge the established order. It will be increasingly difficult for the authorities that would ordinarily be in control of official comment and image to be able to carry out their previous roles as zealously as usual due to the short-term need for transparency within the organisation. Clearly this is the only course of action that can possibly placate critics and begin to limit damage to the Olympic movement. What finally emerges as a result of such relatively unfettered access to the operation and the internal structures of the IOC, even now, largely remains to be seen. The role of official accreditation of the media facilitates the Olympic authorities' attempts to control access to where and how the image is presented.

Conclusion.

So then, to reconsider the title and therefore the emphasis of this particular chapter, the question remains; which is the parasite, the Olympic movement or the mass media? Regarding the notion of symbiotic or parasitic, initially there seems to be a close relationship between the development of sport generally (the Olympics in particular), and technological developments within the media. This can be seen as a similar relationship to symbiosis. Nowadays the relationship has definitely shifted as the reliance upon television as the sole source of organisational revenues no longer applies. Was this a parasitic relationship? Well perhaps not, but the media and the Olympic movement have certainly been very significant partners throughout the twentieth century. The idea that without sport there would still be a media industry and without the media there would undoubtedly still be sport, perhaps says the most about the relationship between the two. Both have benefited from a close dynamic relationship and yet it has not always been consistent, coherent or mutually advantageous. As has been clearly established, the role of business interests in the practicalities of the association between the media and the Olympic movement should not be underestimated. Too much of the operation of the Olympic movement related to their dealings with the media has been a case of reacting to issues as they arise, rather than actively seeking out opportunities or challenges, and dealing with them before they become problematic. No matter what the level of control exerted from within, it is impossible for any organisation that has a strong social element such as the Olympic movement to separate external change from its basic operations. As we saw in the previous chapter, change has an ultimately variable and timeless quality. Simply reacting to changes creates significant risks especially in terms of organisational pressure.

Undoubtedly the different media forms have affected the Olympic movement in terms of both accountability and criticism, whilst also giving the Olympic movement a vehicle for promoting their particular agendas and values. Therefore, at different times throughout the development of the Olympic Games, the various media forms have had widespread effects upon the image and character of Olympic organisations and the Olympic Games themselves. Between 1970 and 1980 the Olympic Games was beholden

unto the media and particularly to the sums accrued from United States television rights revenues. Can this be seen as a parasitic association? More obviously, it would seem that this relationship has tended towards a symbiosis. While it is possible to argue from such a stance, it seems that the relationship has indeed varied between different forms and levels of symbiosis. In many instances the media have been the stronger partner, yet they have been aware of the unique qualities associated with Olympic competition as promoted by the regulatory authority represented by the Olympic movement. Whereas the media establishes disparities and differences between nations, the Olympic movement seeks to be as inclusive as possible; this creates a central paradox in the relationship between them. If Olympism itself becomes superfluous, then the Olympic Games themselves will lose their unique and intangible qualities that set them apart from other international multi-sport events.

A fuller analysis of the development of the bidding process and the growth of the required criteria will be more closely examined in the next chapter. Interestingly, regarding recent scandals related to the bidding for the 2002 Winter Olympic Games, it was a senior member of the IOC, Marc Hodler, who blew the whistle to the world's media. By doing so, this effectively provided the level of organisational accountability and transparency that has long been required. This initiated the current investigations within the IOC by introducing clear evidence of corruption by members into the public arena. Nevertheless, few within the Olympic movement were openly in praise of the actions of Marc Hodler and his role as a whistle-blower was even viewed by some as a betrayal of the movement. Interestingly, many offending members escaped with an official reprimand, and many more IOC members were implicated than were removed by the Olympic leadership. The process of determining the motives of those individuals (especially IOC members) who have influenced IOC policy from within the Olympic movement is fraught with problems related to the historical concept of determining 'the thought behind the action'.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁶ Carr, E. What is History? (London 1990) p.49

There are a number of Olympic administrators who feel that the deeper structural problems can be sidelined by concentrating on openness and transparency associated with the current clamour for accountability. If we consider current thinking on strategic management and organisation theory, we can clearly see how the Olympic movement has failed to welcome and embrace discontinuity, thus being forced to react to change, challenges and pressures as they arise.⁴⁴⁷ As already discussed this is neither an efficient nor an effective means of dealing with change. After all, such difficulties have to be viewed as opportunities as well as risks.⁴⁴⁸ This inability to adapt to challenges and accept change into the organisational structure of the Olympic movement represents a most serious challenge to the IOC's notion that it promotes international peace, understanding and the other idealised values associated with Olympism. The age of immediacy has arrived to test the strength of the Olympic image. It is of paramount importance for the future success of the Olympic Games that the Olympic movement maintains a positive public image.

The key question regarding an historical analysis, especially related to the current corruption allegations, is how relevant occurrences in the past are going to influence what will happen in the future. Notably, the ancient Olympic Games were abolished, in the fourth century BC, as they had become little more than a heathen religious festival for the Romans after their defeat of the Greek civilisation.⁴⁴⁹ Strikingly, the ancient Olympic Games had become tainted with corruption and blatant cheating, as many Roman administrators were awarded the status of Olympic champion without even having competed. Now it would seem that the Olympic Games (and the wider Olympic movement) are again troubled by widespread allegations of corruption, cheating and sharp practice. Perhaps the moves towards greater openness and the establishment of an ethics commission run by the IOC is a case of too little too late. The self-policing nature of this move towards increased openness seems to project the whole initiative as being slightly half-hearted. Indeed, the fact that the present difficulties faced by the Olympic

⁴⁴⁷ Slack, T. Understanding Sport Organisations p.178, see also Handy, C. The Age of Unreason (London 1995) pp.50-59

⁴⁴⁸ Drucker, P. Managing In a Time Of Great Change (New York 1995) pp.39-43.

movement relate to the Olympic bidding process rather than the actual Games themselves is also highly significant. A full analysis of this episode surrounding the Salt Lake City Winter Olympic bid will be fully considered in Chapters 7 and 8.

⁴⁴⁹ Weiler, I. and Kyle, D. 'The Ancient Olympic Games' Lecture Series at the 7th Postgraduate IOA Session, Olympia, Greece (May 1999) (Unpublished)

Chapter 6

'PAYING THE PIPER AND CALLING THE TUNE': THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SELECTION CRITERIA FOR USE WITHIN THE OLYMPIC GAMES BIDDING PROCESS.

This chapter will show how the specific criteria used for deciding future Olympic hosts have changed dramatically over a relatively short period of time, and will reflect how the widest pressures and dynamics at work affect the Olympic image. It is intended to highlight how the reality of operational aspects of the bidding process noticeably differs from the official version of events. Importantly in the context of this thesis, how official information was presented to the media, and in turn by the media to its audience, is a central analytical theme. The changes in the bidding process criteria provides an example of the internal operation of the Olympic movement related to how it carries out the increasingly important organisational task of creating an official image. This image is heavily reliant on the success of an Olympic Games celebration. The ability of the organisation to exercise control over events remains crucial to their efforts at image making. Indeed, it is important to remember that the cities that had acted as hosts for the early Olympic Games were always from nations that were affiliated to the Olympic movement, with a recognised NOC and a serving IOC member.⁴⁵⁰

More specifically, the analytical approach of this chapter will concentrate upon how the selection criteria have affected the process of cities bidding for the summer Olympic Games. The role of the media in the history of the bidding process will be identified where applicable. Reference will also be made to the attempts by the IOC to make the bidding process more equitable, in response to internal and external pressures. The analysis will provide a comparison between the bidding process as it was in the 1950s (with specific reference to the 1954 and 1957 IOC regulations) and the mid-1980s (at which point the bids for the 1992 Olympic Games were being considered).⁴⁵¹ After both of these have been detailed, a direct comparison is expected to furnish evidence showing how both the reality and practice of the bidding process changed for both the Olympic movement and host cities.

⁴⁵⁰ IOC, Olympic Rules: The Charter of the Olympic Movement (Lausanne 1941) p.4

The close examination of the bidding process over time illustrates the internal pressures and tensions existing within the Olympic movement which apply to all aspects of the operational dynamic. Official attempts at image making, and the Olympic movement's relationship with the media, are both ultimately reliant upon the successful celebration of the Olympic Games. In this regard the importance of the bidding process as a means for the organisation to ensure the wider success of each Olympic festival (and the movement itself) cannot be overestimated. While a fuller analysis of the contemporary bidding process will be included in the next chapter it is necessary to elaborate on the historical background to the bid process here.

(i) The background to the bid process

There was minimal determined effort to screen potential hosts for their suitability prior to the First World War. In fact, up to the late 1940s the voting for the Olympic host remained akin to a political vote within the structure of the IOC, coloured by personal vested interest and national ideology.⁴⁵¹ Until the early 1950s, the hosts for the Olympic Games tended to be almost exclusively 'western capitalist' nations. In terms of a linear historical development, there seems to be little coherence to the bidding process, yet along with the changing nature of Olympic ceremonial events, it can be seen as directly reflecting the climate within the Olympic movement at a particular point in time. Indeed the early 1950s saw the first tentative steps towards more codified, formal control of the festival by the Olympic authorities. It must be remembered that the Olympic Games are the central *raison d'être* for the IOC, NOCs and the Olympic movement, as well as being of crucial importance for the majority of ISFs. The idea of promoting the Olympic message without the vehicle of the Olympic Games as an international point of reference is not something that bears thinking about for many in the Olympic movement.

⁴⁵¹ There can be a delay of up to 7 years between a site being awarded the Games and actually hosting them. This can lead to structural problems and shifting organisational parameters.

⁴⁵² There is evidence that this is a process that has been present from the very beginning of the Olympic movement. While this may have taken on slightly differing forms, it is clear that such pressures remain undercurrents to this day. Hill, C. *Olympic Politics* pp.2-3

Prior to the conclusion of the Second World War, there was no organised bidding process such as there is today. Indeed the members of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) even invited cities to become the site of many of the early Olympic Games. This came to be viewed as a somewhat unsatisfactory process.⁴⁵³ As a more structured process developed, the city that was eventually chosen as host would invariably be that which most closely applied their bid presentation to the IOC's agenda. While they obviously had to demonstrate the ability to be capable hosts, many assurances over organisational details had been taken at face value.⁴⁵⁴ This process can be recognised as an influential factor contributing to a number of relatively unsuccessful Olympic Games. Over time the staging of the Games became better organised, in part due to the gradual expansion of the bidding criteria. Furthermore, the growth of the Olympic Games and its attendant logistical requirements have also led to the expansion of the number of criteria employed. Another factor contributing to increased bid sophistication related to the expectation of more detailed information being provided by the potential host. This included whether any of the required facilities were already in place, as well as details of climate, transportation infrastructure and security issues, among others.

Prior to the introduction of separate and distinct bid regulations and guidelines, the bid criteria had been included as a section within the general Olympic Rules.⁴⁵⁵ The bidding process criteria have become increasingly exhaustive, as the Olympic movement seeks to establish which city would be the best host for the Olympic Games and as the stakes invested in the quadrennial festival have become greater. Despite the expansion of the bid process being linked with the growth of the Olympic Games, traditional organisational ideals and practices are still apparent. This can be seen as evidence of the Olympic movement's convenient reliance upon aspects of a previously discarded philosophy, namely amateurism.

⁴⁵³ Letter from Avery Brundage to Hon. Maurice J. Tobin, Mayor of Boston, on Boston's candidacy for the 1940 Olympic Games (8/7/1938) Box S5, Olympic Games Sites and 'US Olympic Bids' Box 104, Cities which desire to stage Olympic Games, information for... in, ABC at U of I

⁴⁵⁴ Melbourne in 1956 showed how the period between being granted the right to host the games and actually doing so can be fraught with organisational difficulties and tensions.

The Olympic Games are a great international festival of the youth of the world which is made possible by the contribution of the services of thousands of amateur sportsmen, competitors and officials alike, from nearly every civilised country. They were never intended to be a money making enterprise, and any profits derived from holding the Olympic Games (after payment of all proper expenses in connection with their organisation) are paid to the National Olympic Committee of the country in which the Games are staged, to be applied for the promotion of the Olympic Movement or the development of amateur sport.⁴⁵⁶

From the above quotation it is possible to glean a significant amount of information regarding the shifting attitude of the IOC towards the importance of the bidding process. While convenient for the official promotion of a desirable image via the link to amateurism, the open use of volunteers also has a practical use in that it clearly helps to minimise costs. From the somewhat difficult early years of the Olympic movement, the IOC sought ways of limiting the expenditure involved in staging the Olympic Games, whilst also ensuring their growth and development in terms of providing a sporting focus. This problem was partially solved through the role given to amateur athletes and volunteer officials throughout the duration of the majority of the early Olympic festivals. In fact, it is safe to say that the reliance upon the amateur philosophy was central to the organisational success of the Olympic Games in the immediate period following the First World War. Interestingly, volunteers and ‘amateurs’ are still used in the organisation and production of an Olympic spectacle.

There are many potential advantages of acting as the hosts of an Olympic Games, but since the 1930s there have been specific attempts by the Olympic movement to minimise the costs involved in staging the events over fears that the Olympic Games will become increasingly unmanageable. Clearly, the use of volunteers will always differ depending upon the form of national systems and values that exist for delivering such support.⁴⁵⁷ While indirectly assisting in the reduction of costs, the centrality of the amateur philosophy also illustrated the IOC’s psychic desire to benefit from an idealised association, by claiming the moral high ground among international sporting events. It is

⁴⁵⁵ See. IOC, Olympic Rules: Charter of the Olympic Games (Lausanne 1941), and Olympic Rules: Charter of the Olympic Games, (Lausanne 1949)

⁴⁵⁶ IOC, Information for Cities which Desire to Stage the Olympic Games (Lausanne 1957) p.8

⁴⁵⁷ Drucker, P. Managing in a time of Great Change (New York 1995) p.257

noteworthy in terms of the official promotion of a traditional image that amateurism was still a central part of Olympism until the early 1970s.

The establishment in the 1950s of IOC questionnaires for completion by bidding cities laid down tentative guidelines, paving the way for a more concise and effective transferral of information and expectation between the Olympic movement and the bidding cities. As was noted in previous chapters, the Olympic movement has not been averse to embracing new communications technology. The increasing control of the bidding process and the adaptation of new technologies provide a thematic example of power being exercised by the Olympic movement over the dissemination of information. The bid books prepared by bidding cities do not exist for all Olympic Games, as there was little practical need for them prior to the 1950s. However, the growth in the physical size of the Games and in the number of cities submitting rival bids then began to change the organisational dynamic.⁴⁵⁸ A more specific comparison will provide a clearer picture of how the criteria have developed.

(ii) The 1954 version of the bidding regulations

These are noteworthy, as they are the first distinct criteria established, by the IOC and the Olympic movement, specifically related to selecting a host for the Games.⁴⁵⁹ Previously, the bid process had involved a list of questions that were limited in scope but nevertheless made up part of the general Olympic Rules. The need for more concise and extensive information allowed the development of a list of written guidelines within official Olympic documentation. These changes more clearly established the following detailed information. These included consideration of the sports programme and the length of the events, the level of experience and facilities within the city, the provision of venues, the study of previous Olympic festivals and finally how local customs and

⁴⁵⁸ Extensive use was made of the library at the British Olympic Association in London where many of the existing bid documentation, is held. For further details on the number of bidding cities see. Appendix 3 Olympic Bidding Cities since 1896

⁴⁵⁹ IOC, Information for cities which desire to stage the Olympic Games, (Lausanne 1954) There had been a number of official questionnaires for the purpose of establishing facts about potential hosts. It is clear from the early Olympic gatherings that there was a lack of potential host cities coming forward and expressing an interest in acting as Olympic host. yet the growth of the size of the festival still required an extension of the host criteria and the bidding process.

traditions might be incorporated into the Olympic Games. Olympic village details, financing, general information and demographic statistics regarding the city, as well as the provision of accommodation, experience in hosting international events and of course, the adherence to the Olympic Charter were all to be clearly stated.⁴⁶⁰

These criteria may not seem particularly significant at first glance as they simply provide a list of considerations. However, specific references within the list serve to highlight the growing specialisation and seriousness applied to the selection process by individual members within the IOC. Clearly the experience of previous hosts, had affected the type of information required and, in turn, the character of later bids. It is sufficient at this stage to recognise the scope of information sought by the Olympic authorities in 1954, and remember that best practice was still being gradually established. The role of new IOC President, Avery Brundage, in establishing the direction of the Olympic movement further contributed to this general feeling of a state of flux existing throughout the various affiliated Olympic bodies. While Brundage sought to accommodate change in the structures of the Olympic movement wherever possible, his was a conservative emphasis that drew heavily on the Coubertinian tradition.

Notably it was post-1945 that, at the basic organisational level, the IOC itself began to experience significant internal, organisational shifts. As a number of new members joined the IOC from the Third World and the Soviet bloc, the internal dynamic of the Olympic movement shifted slightly, but nonetheless significantly. Many of these new IOC members had been professionals and specialists in their previous careers.⁴⁶¹ This specialisation provided the organisation with the skilled personnel and tools required, to begin internal reform. The previous experience of these new members in non-Olympic fields allowed them a certain distance from their subject and assisted them in administering the Olympic organisations, while also taking account of the external changes that had been affecting the IOC. Many eastern European IOC members led by the

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid p.12

⁴⁶¹ IOC, Olympic Biographies (Lausanne 1992) pp.101-121

Soviet Union sought the further democratisation of the IOC.⁴⁶² While this political initiative created a significant degree of tension, it largely remained an undercurrent. However, as importantly, this applied pressure to accepted structures and served to effect further change within the Olympic movement. It began a slow, yet definite shift in the composition of the IOC. Over an extended period following the end of the Second World War, and including the expansion of the number of member nations affiliated to the Olympic movement, this internal shift gradually affected the wider organisational direction. By now turning to the bidding regulations and criteria published in 1957, a clearer idea of the organisational needs and operation of the Olympic movement during this period will be established.

(iii) Information for cities which desire to stage the Olympic Games (1957)

In 1957 the selection criteria were presented in the form of a twelve-page booklet. They stated that, ‘any bid must first be authorised by the mayor, or the highest civic authority of that city’.⁴⁶³ The submission of an application had to be put in writing to the IOC in Lausanne at least five years in advance of the proposed date of staging the Games. The invitation document sent to the IOC required an endorsement by the NOC of that particular country, with only one city to be nominated per nation.⁴⁶⁴ Furthermore, the NOC appoints the organising committee for the Games and all proposals and nominations must (wherever necessary) have the approval and support of their national government, thereby ensuring its co-operation in the staging of the Games successfully.⁴⁶⁵ The analysis here will benefit from a more concise consideration of these bidding criteria.

⁴⁶² The Soviet Union proposed a one nation, one vote system within the Olympic movement. New IOC members were also expected to be drawn from the NOCs and the ISFs in future. Lord Killanin, ‘Structural Review of the Olympic Movement’ 20/2/1963 Box 288, Political Interference at the Olympic Games and IOC Executive Committee, ‘Suggestions for the improvement to the organisation of the Olympic Games’ 7/9/1953 Box 110, USSR Proposal for IOC re-organisation in, ABC at U of I

⁴⁶³ IOC, Information for cities which desire to host the Olympic Games, (Lausanne 1957) p.9

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid p.9 When there is more than one potential bidder within a nation, then the NOC of that country must determine which will be the sole Olympic bid for their territory.

(a) The programme of sports events

This programme is subject to the overall approval of the IOC, yet the technical arrangements for particular sports are the responsibility of the ISFs.⁴⁶⁶ This had to be established at an early stage. The IOC, in agreement with the ISFs, establishes that,

... there must be a minimum of fifteen of the following sports included in the programme.' These are: Athletics, Archery, Basketball, Boxing, Canoeing, Cyclism (Cycling), Equestrian, Fencing, Football, Gymnastics, Handball, (Field) Hockey, Modern Pentathlon, Rowing, Shooting, Swimming and Diving, Volleyball, Water-Polo, Weight-lifting, Wrestling and Yachting.'⁴⁶⁷

It is further envisaged that the organising committee should make provision for a Fine Arts and Cultural programme to complement the sporting events on display and run concurrently with the sporting events.⁴⁶⁸ This commitment is illustrated by the following passage from the Olympic Charter. 'The Olympic Games are a great Festival of Youth of the World and the social, educational, aesthetic, ethical and spiritual values as well as the athletics features must be emphasised.'⁴⁶⁹

All affiliated NOCs have the right to send participants to the Games who shall be given free entry without discrimination on grounds of religion, colour or politics.⁴⁷⁰ No other major sport events should be scheduled during the period of the Games, and interestingly, given Avery Brundage's position related to later controversies, 'The Games are to be conducted in a dignified manner and without excessive commercial exploitation.'⁴⁷¹ Adequate facilities should be provided for all the sports to the satisfaction of the IFs, including sufficient practice grounds.⁴⁷² An Olympic village

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid p.9

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid p.10 Tensions between the three main organizational authorities of the Olympic movement have existed openly since the Olympic Congresses of the 1930s. Subsequently, the demarcation of areas of responsibility has remained high on the agenda of any Olympic gathering.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid p.9

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid p.10 The programme for the Winter Games may include: Skiing, Skating, Ice Hockey, Bobsleighting, Luge and Curling.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid p.8

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid p.10

⁴⁷¹ Ibid p.9 In fact, famously commercial installations and advertising signs were not be permitted inside the stadium or other sports grounds. Whether this will be maintained in the longer term is a matter for speculation, especially given the commercial pressures at work presently within the Olympic Movement.

⁴⁷² Ibid p.10

should also be provided, where arrangements should be made for restaurant facilities and other ancillary services. All such facilities and the accommodation are to be conveniently located, preferably together.⁴⁷³

Special efforts should be made to reduce travelling and housing expenses for competitors and officials, and prevent the overcharging of visitors, especially regarding hotel rooms and other accommodation.⁴⁷⁴ The IOC expects that the price of admission tickets shall be kept as low as possible, in order to encourage a large attendance.⁴⁷⁵ However, it is made clear that seats should be reserved for the IOC, officials of the NOCs and the ISFs as well as others within the Olympic movement.⁴⁷⁶ Furthermore, it is expected that local transportation should be provided for these individuals free of charge.⁴⁷⁷ Announcements are expected by the Olympic authorities to appear on the scoreboard stating that the Olympic Games are events for individuals and that there should be no scoring by nation.⁴⁷⁸ On completion of the games a full and complete printed report is to be prepared for the IOC, as well as this a complete photographic record is required in accordance with Olympic Rule No.49. Clearly, even at this initial stage in the formalisation of Olympic bidding, the Olympic movement recognises the need to accommodate the media and their requirements during the Olympic Games.

Regarding the notion of ongoing and significant post-war developments in the relationship between the Olympic Games and the media, it is necessary only to look at the provisions made for the global media interests within the bid documents for evidence of an increasingly close and complex relationship. The 1957 regulations state that adequate arrangements must be made for the press, television and radio, but do not specify what exactly these should be. During this period, the media and the state of related technology largely determined the rate and form of information with which the

⁴⁷³ Ibid p.10

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid p.10

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid p.11

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid pp.10-11

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid p.11

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid p.11

media itself was being presented.⁴⁷⁹ Out of necessity, the Olympic authorities soon began to develop more sophisticated practices regarding information output and the media. This established what information was actually required by the media and the best working practice for both parties in the light of their practical, operational requirements.

(b) The questionnaire

These initial criteria are only preliminary considerations, as invitations from prospective host cities should also be accompanied by answers to the following organisational questionnaire:

- (a) Which sports do you propose to include in the programme?
- (b) What Fine Arts programme do you propose?
- (c) The Games are confined to 16 days (10 for the Winter Games). Please give the dates which you propose?
- (d) Have you an organisation with sufficient experience to run the Games in your city?
- (e) What facilities for the Games (stadia, arenas, pools, practice fields, etc..) are there at present in your city? All facilities should be reasonably close together and convenient for the Olympic Villages. A plan of the city showing locations should be included.
- (f) If these facilities are insufficient, will others be provided; where and when?
- (g) Have you studied the official reports of previous Games and are you prepared to stage the games equally well?
- (h) Are there any laws, customs or regulations in your city or your country that would limit, restrict or interfere with the Games in any way? Free entry must be accorded to delegations from all NOCs recognised by the IOC.
- (i) What sort of Olympic Villages will be provided and where will they be located?
- (j) How will the Games be financed? How much money will be required and who will provide it?
- (k) Please provide general information about your city, its size, population, climate (temperature and rainfall), altitude, and all reasons why it should be considered as a site for the Olympic Games?
- (l) What accommodation is there for visitors? Name other important events that have been organised in your city.
If they are awarded to your city, will you guarantee that the Games will be conducted properly and in accordance with Olympic Rules and Regulations?⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁹ The influence of the media was initially very significant, however, this freedom was dampened when an effective public relations filter came to the fore in the post- Second World War era. Nevertheless the ambivalent approach, to the potential of the media, increasingly allowed the news agenda to be set by the various media forms. Brundage's image in the international press is a case in point.

⁴⁸⁰ IOC, Information for cities which desire to host the Olympic Games (Lausanne 1957) pp.12-13

The documents have clearly, by 1957, already begun to expand beyond those published in 1954 although the overall emphasis remains the same. From these criteria future bid cities could clearly see that there is unlikely to be such a thing as an ideal bid. While ultimately the goal is to secure enough votes to win a bid, it should be remembered that no city is ever chosen unanimously. Clearly sophistication was slowly creeping into the structure of the bidding process, which continued throughout the 1950s and well into the 1960s. Additionally, it is clear that the process of expanding the selection criteria by making the same questions as posed by the IOC relevant to each of the main branches of the Olympic movement, led to a further growth in the physical size of the bid books. The level of bureaucracy associated with this key operational task therefore also grew, highlighting the importance of the three main authorities to the overall structure, while also meeting each of the component authorities' desire for recognition. It is noteworthy that there is the following quotation at the end of the document: 'The IOC will select the city that it believes will organise the Games with the most benefit to the Olympic Movement'.⁴⁸¹ This statement is significant in that it ensured that the IOC ultimately retained control of the whole bidding process. After all, it is they who determine the most beneficial bid.

The role of IOC President Avery Brundage in the post-Second World War expansion of the Olympic movement is noteworthy in this context. Throughout the period between 1952 and 1972 when he held office, he remained pragmatic regarding certain aspects of the movement, while at the same time retaining a traditional Coubertinian approach which was viewed by some as intransigence, over issues that he regarded as crucially important. His subsequently misguided over-adherence to the traditional amateur philosophy, and his conservative denial of the importance of commercial interests to the Olympic festivals, placed a great pressure on Olympic structures. Yet concurrently, he saw the expansion and development of the Olympic Games as vital to the movement's future success. He sought to accommodate the Soviet bloc in Olympic structures as soon as possible after the Second World War, and also oversaw the re-introduction of Italy and Japan into the Olympic fold as they hosted the Olympic Games

⁴⁸¹ Ibid p.13

of 1960 and 1964 respectively. His influence on the bidding process is more directly related to how the structure and procedures within the Olympic movement changed throughout his presidency. This was a complex and important character in the development of the Olympic history-scape. (A fuller appraisal of his presidency and subsequent influence upon the Olympic movement can be found in Chapter 4.) However, as President of the IOC during the first part of the period under consideration, his role in establishing a more formalised bidding process was significant. Undoubtedly the subsequent expansion of the bid criteria was facilitated by the initiatives taken by Brundage.

(iv) The criteria employed in the bidding process for the Olympic Games of 1992

The bid documents employed in the bidding for the 1992 Olympic Games that were presented in the form of three separate questionnaires required a lengthy bid response. Interestingly, these questionnaires related to the requirements of the IOC, ISFs and the media, but not the NOCs. As part of an ongoing process there was now an expanded and extensive range of information required by the IOC evaluation committee from every prospective Olympic host city. In the case of the bidding for the 1992 Olympic Games there were three official questionnaires. These sought similar information yet the emphasis taken highlights the particular organisational requirements of each of the following sections. Volume 1 relates to the 'The city strategy and Answers to the IOC Questionnaire', Volume 2 relates to the 'Games arrangements and Answers to IF Questionnaire' and Volume 3 details the 'Media arrangements and Answers to the Media Questionnaire'. The components of Volume 1 relate to the City Strategy and the IOC Questionnaire.

(a) The City Strategy.

This provides the opportunity for a potential host city to promote its own vision for the Olympic Games. In the form of an introduction, the bidding committee establishes the particular emphasis that the Olympic Games would have, should they be held in their particular city. This has to be handled carefully as the example of Birmingham in the bidding for the 1996 Olympics shows. Birmingham's organising committee and the local

council decided that to be seen to be ‘Giving the Games back to the Athletes’ was a sensible policy statement. While this may initially seem to be a laudable aim, some members of the IOC pondered who had taken the Games away from the athletes in the first place.⁴⁸² It was not as well received as the Birmingham bid committee had hoped. The subsequent stance taken by some IOC members can be seen as an astonishingly literal interpretation, especially from an organisation that so often practises the pragmatic approach.

After continuing to introduce the extent of facilities in place, as well as the geography, history and culture of the city, details are established related to the following points. The Olympic Village, Security, Media and the Press, Games for the disabled, Youth festival, Olympic festival, OCOG mission statement and the scope of proposals were all expected to be detailed.⁴⁸³ The second part of this section established the information required by the IOC in the form of a lengthy questionnaire.

(b) The IOC questionnaire for candidate cities

1. Can you guarantee that your government will agree to abide by, as a priority, the IOC Rules and bye-laws throughout the duration of the Games? Can you produce evidence to this effect?⁴⁸⁴
2. What legal form will be given to the organising committee (OCOG)?⁴⁸⁵
3. Are there any laws, regulations or customs that would limit, restrict or interfere with the Games in any way?⁴⁸⁶
4. Unhindered entry into the country must be accorded to all accredited persons.⁴⁸⁷
5. Can you guarantee that no political meeting or demonstration will take place in the stadium or any other sports ground or in the Olympic Village during the Games?⁴⁸⁸
6. Do you agree with the conditions laid down in rules 21 and 51 of the IOC? Can you obtain the agreement of your national authorities controlling TV, to ensure that the IOC’s exclusive rights are respected?⁴⁸⁹
7. Are the Olympic symbols and emblem in your country protected by law? Will you obtain such protection for the IOC of the Olympic emblem, as well as those of the OCOG, before the Games and enforce it through the normal processes of law?⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸² Miller, D. *Olympic Revolution* p.231, also City of Birmingham, *Games of the XXVth Olympiad, Volume 1: The city strategy and answers to the IOC questionnaire* (Birmingham 1985) p.14

⁴⁸³ City of Birmingham. *Volume 1: The City Strategy* (Birmingham 1985) pp.1-14.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid p.18

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid p.20

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid p.22

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid p.23

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid p.24

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid p.28

8. Have you noted IOC Rule 34 and do you agree to abide by it? (Proximity of events to the city.)⁴⁹¹
9. Can the city demonstrate that it has comprehensive air and rail transportation facilities?⁴⁹²
10. Can the city guarantee that the local transport facility - the provision of cars and buses - will be sufficient?⁴⁹³
11. Can you provide general information about your city? It's [*sic*] size, population, climate, altitude and all reasons why it should be considered as an appropriate site for the Games.⁴⁹⁴
12. Have delegates from your city followed the previous Games and studied the official reports? If your city were elected, do you have an organisation with sufficient experience to stage the Games? Name any other important international events that have been organised in your city.⁴⁹⁵
13. What cultural programme do you propose?⁴⁹⁶
14. The Games of the Olympiad are confined to 16 days. Which dates do you propose? (Draft Olympic Sports Programme.)⁴⁹⁷
15. The Olympic Games' sport programme is governed by Rules 28, 42 and 44. Which programme do you envisage?⁴⁹⁸
16. What facilities for the Games are there at present in your city? All facilities should be reasonably close together and convenient to the Olympic Villages. Please provide a plan of the sites showing the precise distance between them. If these facilities are insufficient, will others be provided? Where?⁴⁹⁹
17. Have you contacted the IFs concerned for their views on technical matters?⁵⁰⁰
18. What sort of Olympic Villages will be provided and where will they be located? Please indicate the basic cost per day in dollars.⁵⁰¹
19. What accommodation is there for visitors? What accommodation and facilities do you plan for the Press?⁵⁰²
20. How will the Games be financed? By the central government, the federal government, the state, the province, the municipality department, local council, private funds?⁵⁰³
21. Can you confirm that the full receipts for TV will be handed over when received, in conformity with the IOC formula, for division between the IOC, IFs and NOCs and your organising committee?⁵⁰⁴

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid p.31

⁴⁹¹ Ibid p.32

⁴⁹² Ibid p.34

⁴⁹³ Ibid pp.36

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid pp.37-8

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid pp.39-41

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid p.42

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid pp.44-5

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid pp.46-7

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid p.48

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid p.50

⁵⁰¹ Ibid p.52

⁵⁰² Ibid p.54

⁵⁰³ Ibid p.56

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid p.59

22. What arrangements can you already foresee in order to reduce, as far as possible, the daily cost of food, lodging and local transportation of the delegations, as well as the travel costs for the competitors and officials?⁵⁰⁵
23. Please complete the separate documents for press, radio and television.⁵⁰⁶

(c) Arrangements for the Games and the details of the ISF questionnaire

Volume 2 begins with general information related to the characteristics of the city. This asks for details of the topography and climate over the last 20 years, and includes data on latitude, longitude and altitude.⁵⁰⁷ The emphasis then shifts to examine the structure of the area involved in the Olympic Games bid as well as maps of facilities and event infrastructure. Details are required of the venues outside the immediate urban area, to include maps of private and public transportation links as well as an extensive table of travel distances and times, relevant to all proposed sites.⁵⁰⁸

The second part of Volume 2 concentrates upon, ‘the particular aspects concerning the characteristics of the overall organisation of the Olympic Games’. Organisational charts are required that establish the structure and tasks of the Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (OCOG), as well as budgetary details and financial sources.⁵⁰⁹ The potential host is also given the opportunity to describe any previous experience of organising and hosting sports events, especially details of the organisation of multi-sport events, including World Championships, and Continental or Regional Games.⁵¹⁰ Crucially, in the context of the pressures related to the unfettered growth of the festival, numbers of trainers, judges, officials, journalists, photographers, television broadcasters, newspapers and spectators expected to be in attendance should also be estimated.⁵¹¹

The emphasis then shifts back again to cover the technical questionnaires

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid p.60

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid p.61 (These questions are presented in the document alongside the city’s reply.)

⁵⁰⁷ ASOIF, Questionnaire for candidate cities for the organisation of the 1992 Olympic Games, (Rome 1985) p.1

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid pp.2-4

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid p.5

⁵¹⁰ Ibid p.6

⁵¹¹ Ibid p.6

elaborated by the ISFs, concerning the fundamental and basic aspects for the technical organisation and the effective planning of events as scheduled in the Olympic programme.⁵¹² Information is also requested on those contacts made with, and the number of visits hosted from, ISF technical delegates.⁵¹³ Types of transportation available to the ISFs as well as the estimated daily cost of accommodation for judges and ISF Congress delegates were also to be included.⁵¹⁴ Other considerations are the number of places available at venues for athletes from other sports, the provision of office space, equipment and staff, how technical films of venues and facilities for each IF will be presented, and details of the provision of an integrated data system are to be provided.⁵¹⁵ Information related to medical and sanitary facilities should also be included. This stage in the process is where the host-city has the opportunity of applying for the inclusion of demonstration sports in the Olympic Programme. Tentative projections related to the dates for the Olympic Games are expected to be detailed in this section which should also include the number of participants expected and any other organisational notes.⁵¹⁶

The final part of this section of the bid documents relates to Facilities and Installations, and comprises the specific queries and questionnaires of each of the 25 affiliated ISFs.⁵¹⁷ Additionally, information on the planning of facilities and installations should be detailed in map form alongside those sports facilities available for use in events, training, and the Olympic Village.⁵¹⁸ General notes concerning the accommodation details of accredited persons and press organisations, the use of autodata processing for specific events and the documentation of each sport, should also be included. Finally, those sites capable of the organisation of the ISF Congress should be put forward, as well as details of the proposals for the use of venues and facilities within the city after the celebration of the Olympic Games.⁵¹⁹ Despite the fact that the first two Volumes relate to areas other than the media, such considerations are not excluded. This

⁵¹² Ibid p.7

⁵¹³ Ibid p.7

⁵¹⁴ Ibid p.8

⁵¹⁵ Ibid p.8

⁵¹⁶ Ibid pp.8-9

⁵¹⁷ Ibid p.11

⁵¹⁸ Ibid p.12

⁵¹⁹ Ibid pp.13-14

is especially so in terms of the technical aspects of the events that are overseen by the ISFs. They must operate in concert with the media production to ensure that everything runs smoothly in terms of the scheduling of events and the provision for media coverage.

(d) Media arrangements and the media questionnaire

In Volume 3, the final section of the criteria used for 1992 Olympic bids, it is clear how extensive and complex the section related to the media has become. Comprising six different parts, this is by far the most exhaustive of the 3 questionnaires being considered here. Section one acts as an introduction to the city's proposed facilities and allows the OCOG a response to the issues raised in the IOC Media Guide.⁵²⁰ The second part quickly becomes more detailed as information about the following points, are sought: the Main Press Centre (MPC), facilities at Subsidiary Press Centres (SPCs), facilities at venues, proposals for ceremonies and the provision of facilities for the media at the Olympic Village. Furthermore, details of the potential host's position towards the recognition and accommodation of the five international media agencies (as accredited by the IOC), and broader issues related to general accreditation are increasingly crucial.⁵²¹ Other important organisational details covered, relate to the provision of admission tickets, press kits, effective communications, access to telecommunications, interview suites, press conference facilities, media accommodation and transportation, as well as pool photography arrangements and the proposals for the appointment of a Photographic Director.⁵²²

The third section establishes more specific technical and communications arrangements for television and radio. These relate to the provision of an International Broadcast Centre (IBC), a master control area, a commentary switching and distribution centre, television production areas, a central videotape area, an off-tube commentary booth, continuity control rooms, CCTV, radio production areas, voice and data facilities,

⁵²⁰ City of Birmingham, Games of the XXVth Olympiad, Volume III: Media arrangements and answers to the Media questionnaires (Birmingham 1985) p.1 IOC Media Guide (Lausanne 1996)

⁵²¹ Ibid pp.7-11 (The 5 media agencies are: TASS, UPI, AP, AFP and Reuters)

⁵²² Ibid pp.13-24

and general space allocations.⁵²³ Details of the host broadcaster and the different types of coverage available are presented in the form of statements concerning basic coverage, unilateral coverage, communications links from venues to IBC, as well as international links for video and audio.⁵²⁴ Other communications details relate to the provision of fixed local services, mobile services, public address systems, electronic information systems, electronic mail, CCTV security system as well as lighting and power provisions at all venues.⁵²⁵ The results services are to be provided at the Olympic stadium, temporary venues, permanent venues as well as numerous other scoreboards as efficiently and quickly as possible.⁵²⁶

The final part of the third volume of the 1992 bid documents begins with the questionnaire for the Written, Spoken and Film Press and later details the Radio and Television Questionnaire. These questions are listed here in their entirety as they provide further evidence of the pressures identified between the media and the Olympic movement, as established in the previous chapter. As importantly, they establish the basis for the development, over a period of thirty years, of the media requirements as accommodated within the bid documents.

1. With which public or private (media) organisations have you studied the questionnaire?
2. Is there a professional journalists and/or sports journalists organisation in your country?
3. Have you had experience of organising a press service for a large international event?
4. What is the maximum figure established by the IOC for the accreditation of press personnel (in the rules governing the mass media) and what is your response?
5. The five international agencies recognised by the IOC (AFP, AP, UPI, Reuters, TASS) deal directly with the OCOG. Will you undertake to respect this clause?
6. All other accreditation is only to be carried out by the relevant NOC. Do you accept this?
7. Do you undertake to accept the accreditation of any journalist whatsoever so long as they are proposed by the NOC?
8. How do you propose to facilitate the work of the news media within the

⁵²³ Ibid pp.25-29

⁵²⁴ Ibid pp.30-36

⁵²⁵ Ibid pp.38-46

⁵²⁶ Ibid p.48

organisation of the Games, particularly taking into account working conditions?

9. Can journalists [sic] free movement in Olympic zones and the free transmission of information be guaranteed?
10. Do you plan the construction or adaptation of a MPC? Where will this be sited? It is highly desirable that it be situated in the immediate vicinity of the main stadium.
11. What SPCs do you plan? What facilities will they contain?
12. How do you propose to accommodate the press and to what standard?
13. What distance will the MPC and the main stadium be from the press accommodation?
14. Do you agree to keep the prices of accommodation for the press as reasonable as possible after consultation and with the approval of the IOC press commission?
15. Can you guarantee that the bulk of the press accommodation will be on a single bed per room, occupancy basis? Are there facilities for the installation of private telephone lines, at prices fixed and agreed with the IOC press commission?
16. How do you propose to organise transport for the press? Can you guarantee that the service will be for the use of the press only and not for the use of the general public?
17. In consultation with the IOC press commission, do you guarantee to run a shuttle service from MPC to SPCs and all venues beyond?
18. What are the present technical possibilities you can offer for the telephone?
19. Can you provide a plan of the telephone installations planned for each of the sites, the MPC and the press Village?
20. On what terms will they be put at journalists' disposal?
21. What conditions do you plan for the installation of private lines?
22. What telex installation do you plan?
23. What other transmission apparatus are you planning?
24. Can you describe the press information system that will function: in the period of preparation for the Games, immediately before the Games, during the Games and after the Games?
25. What information do you plan to issue on: the country, the OCOG, the installations, the events and the athletes?
26. The results must be given in priority to radio and television. What do you envisage in this respect?
27. Is a press agency results system planned and will the system be made compatible with the computers of the agencies where possible?
28. Do you agree to provide arrangements for the press to interview athletes? (An agreed number of journalists is allowed access to the Olympic Village at one time and is stipulated within the Olympic Rules.)
29. In all matters concerning the comfort and technical efficiency of the facilities offered to the press, the final arbiter will be the IOC press commission.⁵²⁷

Furthermore, the bidding documents continue with a list of what are called ‘The OCOG’s duties towards the press’. These are listed below and illustrate the almost unnecessarily exhaustive and repetitive emphasis of this third volume, related to the media considerations. The OCOG’s duties to the press include:

1. Duty to provide accreditation, information, accommodation, transport, communications, reserved stands, installations, and interview space for all members of the media.
2. Duty to provide accreditation and technical facilities for the 5 agencies recognised by the IOC.
3. Duty to provide accreditation, information, working installations and communications for the written press.
4. Duty to provide a basic signal, the coverage of different events, unilateral facilities, technical facilities, international audio, commentators’ booths and interviews, for television.
5. Duty to provide circuits, commentator’s booths, interviews and other technical possibilities, for radio.
6. Duty to form a news pool, for newsreel.
7. Duty to form a pool, access to competition sites and technical facilities, for photographers.⁵²⁸

The final questionnaire in this section of the bid documents addresses the following points related more specifically to the broadcast media.

(e) The Radio and Television questionnaire

1. The host city has the responsibility to provide radio and television free of charge. Please identify the public or private broadcasting organisations with which you have studied this questionnaire, for television.
2. Please identify the organisations, for radio.
3. Please indicate the broadcaster or group of broadcasters able to produce an international TV signal.
4. Please indicate which organisation will be able to act as host broadcaster.
5. Please indicate the public or private telecommunications organisations with which you have discussed all communication requirements, and have listed in the appendix. Include, local, national, and international provisions.
6. Please identify the full-time senior staff member with extensive broadcasting experience you have assigned as the head of your committee of radio and television experts.
7. Please identify the other members of the committee with their function.
8. When integrating the various sports into an Olympic programme in liaison with the IOC, broadcasters should avoid conflicts between the competitions and the ceremonial events.

⁵²⁷ Ibid pp.51-73

⁵²⁸ Ibid pp.75-78

9. As radio and television transmits Olympic events live, they must receive all information relating to competitions and events without delay.
10. Will all the necessary visas and permits be issued?
11. Will all permits ensuring access for broadcast personnel be adequately provided?
12. Please guarantee access for all survey teams to visit all Olympic installations from the time when your city is granted the responsibility for organising the Olympic Games, and keep the IOC informed of such surveys.
13. Can you guarantee that the bulk of the accommodation will comprise one single bed per room, with arrangements for private telephones at prices agreed with the IOC, as well as individual washing and bathing facilities including laundry?
14. How do you propose to accommodate broadcast personnel?
15. Can you guarantee a regular transport service, for the exclusive use of radio and television personnel, between the different venues and accommodation centres?
16. Please advise the number of passes, parking permits and spaces available at IBC, each venue and Olympic Village. Most individual cars will require a locally recruited driver who is capable of speaking a foreign language.
17. How many interpreters and bilingual secretaries will be made available and for what languages?
18. Many broadcasters will seek to import equipment and supplies. Please confirm that importation and re-exportation will be free of any duty.
19. Please indicate the medical facilities you plan to provide at the following locations: IBC, venues and the Olympic Village. What plans are in place for serious illness requiring hospital care?
20. Can you guarantee that radio and television transmitters will broadcast at appropriate hours throughout your city, starting the day before the opening ceremony through to the closing ceremony?
21. Are the radio and television organisations that have been consulted, also prepared to broadcast promotional programmes for the Olympic movement, commencing at least one year prior to the Games?
22. Can you guarantee to give the IOC, free of charge, a 2 hour colour film summarising the highlights of all finals, for its archives?
23. Can you guarantee to give the IOC, free of charge, one set of all videotapes for its archives?
24. Can you guarantee that you will provide a detailed report on the infrastructure, facilities and services which you which you have made available to the world's radio and television? The IOC may use such information in any manner it may decide, especially for the information of future candidate cities.⁵²⁹

Pointlessly exhaustive in parts, the questionnaires used in the bidding process reproduce similar details and information within all three of the response documents

related to the main Olympic authorities. The expansion of the bidding process criteria and the whole operation of submitting a bid has changed from a simple list of questions in the 1950s to a bureaucratic process dependent upon the completion of such unwieldy documents as are noted here. It has been suggested that the bid documents have grown while at the same time the organisation has become more bureaucratic.⁵³⁰ If one bidding city provides information comprising three volumes of documentation in support of its application, then ponder how much paperwork is required when there are five or more bidding cities. The IOC bid evaluation committee has supposedly stepped into the breach. In theory the committee provides a first filter for submitted bids, discounting the less feasible or desirable bids, yet the decision is ultimately still made on the basis of the voting of the IOC membership. The danger of the relevant details getting lost within such a paper chase undoubtedly increases as the practicalities of staging the Olympic Games themselves become increasingly complex.⁵³¹ Now that the details of the bidding process for both 1957 and 1992 have been established, it is important to examine the specific criteria employed more directly as it is possible to plot how the regulations have changed over time. By then employing a process of identification and extrapolation, such an analysis will provide clear details of some of the changing motives that have affected the development of the bidding process itself and, indirectly, the wider Olympic movement.

(v) A comparison between the bid criteria

The questionnaires employed in 1957 and the corresponding documents used in 1985 (for the 1992 Olympic bids) are in fact, surprisingly similar. Nevertheless, the later edition is, as might be expected, noticeably more extensive and detailed. This is primarily the influence of developmental factors outside the direct control of the Olympic movement. For example, innovations within the media created issues that had to be addressed by additional questions and further aspects being included in the bid

⁵²⁹ Ibid pp.81-99

⁵³⁰ As we see the bidding criteria become more extensive over a period of time, it is certainly feasible that throughout the same period the Olympic organisations become increasingly bureaucratic as committees become increasingly important to carrying out the operational task. Blondel, J. Voters, Parties and Leaders: The social fabric of British politics. (London 1981) p.187. and Lucas, J. Future of the Olympic Games pp.202-4

⁵³¹ The inclusion of extensive lists of the bid criteria employed within the selection process in this chapter represents only a small proportion of information generated nowadays.

documents. Many of the considerations within the 1992 regulations would have been irrelevant and unnecessary in the late 1950s. An example of this was the fact that the relationship between the media and the Olympic movement, as well as the operation of the media itself, was very different. So it is within this context of continuous yet irregular change that we have an idea as to the practicalities of staging the games. There is also evidence of an adaptation of tradition that has proved increasingly important for cities involved in the bidding process. As the Olympic movement recognised the significance of the cultural ambience of the city during the Olympic Games, wherever possible ceremonial and cultural programmes were to be highlighted.

These aesthetic contributions to the festival have always been important non-sport related aspects of the philosophy of Olympism. The Olympic movement and particularly the IOC again sought to promote such desirable aspects of the Olympic philosophy and the Games themselves as an effective means of setting the Olympic events apart from other international sports festivals. More recently, environmental factors related to the bidding process, including impact assessments and the sympathetic development of proposed Olympic Games sites, have also become important to the decision of where to stage the Games. This illustrates how factors external to the immediate Olympic movement affect the operational dynamic of the bidding process. In this case it is a pressure that is exerted from a greater awareness of social conscience and responsibility.

In terms of this thesis, the most significant shift in the bidding regulations relates to the expansion of the requirements of the global media. This increasingly large part of the selection criteria is an indication of the media's relative importance to the future success of the Olympic movement. This is illustrated clearly by the different categories of accommodation, consideration and comfort that are determined for the different branches of the Olympic movement in the later version of the criteria. (Medical and transport considerations also fall into this category.) At the top of this list of affiliated agencies and groups is the IOC. However, their requirements are closely followed by the need to accommodate and provide for the world's media. The importance of the media in the contemporary production of the Olympic festival cannot be overstated. The media's use

as a delivery system for the projection of a particular image by the Olympic movement is illustrated by the expansion of the media's role in the staging of the Olympic Games. Indeed the image projected is usually one that has been favourable. For the first 50 years of the Olympic movement the media were sympathetic and even supportive. However, with their increasing sophistication, the reportage has changed to become more independent and investigative in its emphasis. The sheer volume of possible broadcast opportunities have, however, paradoxically served to dilute the investigative tendencies of the media. With the expansion of the Olympic Games, the media has had to concentrate its efforts on covering as many of the sporting events being displayed as possible. It has usually taken extraordinary events, beyond the immediate sporting environment, to turn the media against the Olympic movement.

The tight management of accreditation highlights issues related to the control of the Olympic events and Olympic information by the Olympic movement. This is evident from the importance given by the IOC to the key aspects of the event being effectively managed. It is of paramount importance that the Olympic Games should pass off without mistakes or errors, as these would clearly affect the ability of the Olympic movement to maintain a consistent and coherent image. Therefore only officially approved media organisations and individual journalists should be granted access to the Olympic Games.⁵³² This can be viewed as part of the more general operation to establish a particular image and to manage the emphasis of any information output by determining which media organisations have access to official comment. By the 1970s and following the conservative emphasis of Avery Brundage's presidency, the bid criteria again had to be made more relevant in the contemporary sense. During this progressive period, the individual questions were gradually adapted and other considerations added to the existing criteria to provide a more exhaustive bidding process. However, the commercial successes enjoyed by the Olympic movement in the late 1980s again placed pressure on the bidding process. This required that the regulations be further modified.

⁵³² IOC, The Olympic Charter (Lausanne 1995) (Note, Rule 59 states, "All questions concerning the mass media... including the granting and the withdrawal of Olympic identity cards...rest within the competence of the IOC Executive Board") pp.89-90

The Olympic movement now uses certain preliminary criteria to exclude any unsuitable bids at an Evaluation Committee stage. This is especially effective when there are multiple bids submitted. At the same time, it is evident that many major cities will not be granted the right to host the Olympic Games as they are in countries deemed incapable of providing a suitable stage for such an important international festival.⁵³³ Official encouragement for them to attempt a bid serves to highlight the Olympic movement's stated universal goal in action, while all too often denying the majority of Third World cities even the merest chance of success with few even reaching the IOC Evaluation Committee stage. The official position related to the rejection of such unsuitable bids is presented as the general organisational concern that an international authority such as the Olympic movement cannot be seen to be either influencing or condoning internal political structures or particular societal and cultural norms.⁵³⁴ The prohibitive cost of launching a bid – up to an estimated \$20m to \$30m – precludes only those particularly ambitious or wealthy nations from applying.⁵³⁵ The gradual growth in the size and importance of the Olympic Games has caused an added reluctance on the part of the IOC to entrust the festival to such hosts, especially when considering bids from economically poorer nations. It is clear that officially, support for prospective hosts will be forthcoming from the IOC: however, in practice this will never be extended to include financial assistance at the planning stage. As the stakes have become higher, so the extent of risk-taking on the part of the Olympic authorities has declined reciprocally. (Now there is a great deal more to lose for everyone involved within the Olympic movement.) However, it can be argued that there is far more for the Olympic organisations to lose from not pursuing wider structural change, and by not embracing new operational realities.

The residual impact of the Games can nowadays potentially bankrupt cities, especially if the production of the spectacle is inefficiently managed. Any significant budget deficit following an Olympic Games can have a detrimental effect upon the

⁵³³ McGeoch, R and Korporaal, G *The Bid: How Australia won the 2000 Games* (Sydney 1994) pp.217-221

⁵³⁴ Ibid p.58. (Olympic Rule 37.3 states that, 'the organisation of the Olympic Games shall not be entrusted to a city unless the latter has submitted to the IOC, a document drawn up by the government, of the country under consideration, in which the said government guarantees to the IOC that the country will accept the Olympic Charter') Also, Booth, D. and Tatz, C 'Swimming with the Big Boys? The Politics of Sydney's 2000 Olympic bid' in, *Sporting Traditions* Vol.11 No.1 (Nov 1994)

willingness of potential hosts to submit bids for future Olympic Games. As far as other, more intangible benefits of hosting the Olympic Games are concerned, the IOC states that the pleasure enjoyed by the citizens of the community who act as host for the ‘...greatest of all sport events’⁵³⁶ is immeasurable. The facilities provided for the Olympic Games later become civic assets, while the host nation becomes the centre of attention for the sporting world during the Games. Such projected benefits have latterly provided incalculable opportunities for development and promotion within the chosen city. However, there were few warnings of the potential for losses, should there be any ill-advised or superfluous development.

The financial difficulties experienced in Montreal following their 1976 Games provide a good example of how unchecked expenditure can swamp even the most sympathetic budgetary projections. Nevertheless, the IOC clearly states that it retains control of and provides direction for the Olympic Games and suggests that, ‘the regulations established by the Olympic Movement should be studied before submitting an application.’⁵³⁷ In fact the ability of future hosts to draw upon the varied experiences of past Olympic cities remains an important factor in the convergence of good practice within the bidding process and the subsequent staging of events. The contemporary format of the criteria undoubtedly provides detailed information, yet to a certain degree it also panders to the desires of the different Olympic authorities to be taken seriously as important structural bodies when screening potential hosts. The fact that the NOCs and the ISFs have no voting rights in the decision of where to stage the Olympic Games indicates the extent of their influence. Conflict and tension remain important aspects of the interaction between the main branches of the Olympic movement. Furthermore, it should be remembered at this stage that the Olympic Games immediately prior to the Los Angeles gathering of 1984 saw few competing bids from potential hosts and therefore the choice had often been a very limited one.

⁵³⁵ Miller, D. Olympic Revolution p.223

⁵³⁶ IOC, Information for cities which desire to stage the Olympic Games (Lausanne 1957) p.8

⁵³⁷ Ibid pp.8-9

Conclusion

Where then does the current state of the bid process leave second and third world cities that decide to bid for the games? Do they get involved in the bidding process fully aware that they are unlikely to be granted the Olympics? Is it simply enough for a city and a nation to be seen within the global context as one which believes itself to be capable of hosting the Olympics, even though they enter the bidding process with no real hope of success? As previously established, self-promotion within the global context may remain a very influential factor behind the motives of some of those nations which do propose an Olympic bid.⁵³⁸ The implications for the more universal aspects of the Olympic philosophy are still uncertain. What is clear is that in a number of cases, cities have tabled a bid to stage the Games, thereby increasing their profile. Subsequently, a more serious or complete bid can then be attempted. The nature of the process, certainly since the early 1980s, has led to an attendant increase in the finances required by each proposed site as a succession of bids are tabled, over an extended period of time.

The bidding process is capable of being both haphazard and complex, wherein an attempt to identify all of the criteria employed by the IOC in its selection of cities is a tortuous task. While procedures may have established an accepted voting system, voting behaviour itself is notoriously difficult to analyse. As political scientist Jean Blondel postulates regarding some of the influences and images that affect long-term thought within a society, 'We might be able to increase our knowledge: but we will probably always be hampered by difficulties of method and difficulties of interpretation, until and unless new techniques are discovered.'⁵³⁹ He continues regarding some of the trends likely to become significant in future, 'We do not know whether they will develop in the future. We do not even know how much images of this kind are affected, in the long run, by policies and by the propaganda of the mass media.'⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁸ Buenos Aires, a multiple Olympic bidder, was unlikely ever to be granted the Olympic Games, especially when in competition with more advanced, better geographically placed, cities in stable capitalist nations. However, each time that they tabled a bid the local organising committee successively raised the profile of their city as well as Argentina within the global sporting environment. Prebisch, A. (Mayor) Replies to the questionnaire to be answered in presenting Buenos Aires as site for the XIX Olympic Games, 1968 Buenos Aires 11/2/1963 Box 192, Olympic Bids in, ABC at U of I

⁵³⁹ Blondel, J. Voters, Parties and Leaders p.249

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid pp.250-1

Evidently, the motives involved in how IOC members cast their votes are at least partially determined by factors such as the peculiar internal politics of the Olympic movement itself, as well as its organisational policy decisions and the state of international, geo-political relations at a particular moment in time. Undoubtedly, the growing influence of public relations up to the mid-1980s must be another important factor within this process. After Los Angeles in 1984, and given the rapid growth in the attractiveness in bidding for the Olympic Games, operational measures were required to manage the expansion. In setting up the IOC Evaluation Commission, the IOC has laid down a preliminary stage to the bidding process. The IOC Evaluation Commission has the ability to discard a bid on the strength of its findings, thereby circumventing difficult or unstable situations in potential host nations. The relative success of this subtle innovation has led to some observers suggesting that this commission should be given the sole right, without consultation of the full IOC membership, to decide the site for future festivals. This is rationalised by the ability of the smaller Evaluation Commission to be more specialised, thereby providing a more informed choice, whereas the larger body of the IOC is unlikely to be able to devote as much time to such considerations.⁵⁴¹ It is highly unlikely that there will be any great willingness on the part of IOC members to vote for a reduction in their own power and influence.

The utilisation by the media of new technologies and developments was becoming increasingly well established. Consequently, and in the context of this thesis, a link can be suggested between the more deliberate, official, presentation of information, and the new era of increasing media efficiency and effectiveness. Technological developments have clearly provided an expression of the natural parameters in which the media operates and therefore how they effectively disseminate the official message and image. This process can also be seen as providing some impetus for the IOC to regulate their dealings with the media. The means of presenting the information had itself changed. The increasingly official use of public relations, press operations and political ‘spin’ practices, especially within official Olympic statements, as well as the idea of

⁵⁴¹ This has been revisited in recent years in the aftermath of the Salt Lake City bidding irregularities related to the 2002 Winter Olympic Games. To leave the bidding process to a specialised commission might lessen the possibility of such unethical behaviour being repeated in future.

deliberate, media manipulation, can be seen as important factors in organisational terms. It can be argued that the image of the Olympic movement suffers from an over-exposure of the symbols and rituals associated with the Games. Undoubtedly, the ubiquitous character of the Olympic image (especially around the period of the Games) creates pressure on the exclusive element of the deal as offered by the Olympic movement to sponsors for marketing purposes.

Ongoing control of the bidding process has forced the IOC to the centre of the Olympic structures yet it has also allowed them a degree of leeway in which to manufacture their image, as their ability to exercise control over the nature of the whole Olympic spectacle has grown. While not entirely surprising, it is clear that nowadays the process has changed significantly since the 1950s and as importantly so have the motives of those cities that table an Olympic bid. Much of the change in the bid documents can be explained by the general growth in the size and importance of the Games as a global event. There has been an attendant growth and development in organisational sophistication especially regarding the potential for image creation at the Olympic Games. This has largely occurred as a result of promoting more directly the wider Olympic movement within the context of Olympism. The issue of control of an image is a central theme of this thesis. However, as importantly, any analysis must deal with the means of how this control is exerted as well as what the implications of applying such control might be. The emphasis of the next chapter is directly relevant to the practicalities of bidding for the Olympic Games, as it will examine more closely the experiences of recent successful Olympic bids, including, Atlanta, Nagano, Sydney, Salt Lake City and Athens. (It is also prudent to highlight the reaction of certain cities to the realities of the bidding process, after they have been unsuccessful in their bid to host the Olympic Games.)

While the analysis of the bidding process remains a simple method of examining change within the Olympic movement, it cannot be seen in isolation from the wider organisational pressures that affect the organisation from outside. Indeed, there were numerous structural influences that had affected the rest of society and the world as a

whole throughout the period in question. The level of control over the bidding process exerted by the IOC certainly has grown and developed in a way that suggests that any manipulation of information is unlikely to have solely been part of a conscious and deliberate process. Indeed, the process of image management by the Olympic authorities, can be best understood within the context of their attempts to control the development of the Olympic Games in order to secure the future of the movement. What we can say is that the Olympic organisations became increasingly aware of the need to project a coherent and positive media image especially in the period following the end of the Second World War. For this, through adequate judgement and a modicum of luck, they have made good use of their showcase, namely the spectacle of the Olympic Games.

What is clear is that the IOC's aims have not been necessarily easy to realise and not always in keeping with the goals of the media. As M.Zantovsky, ambassador of the Czech Republic to the United States, stated in a speech to the Freedom Forum in New York, "In a healthy society the relationship between governments and the media is that of an adversarial partnership".⁵⁴² It is extremely unlikely that unless serious challenging discourse is encouraged at all levels of government as well as within the wider Olympic movement, especially related to their setting of the media agenda in non-Olympic years, then the future of the organisation will be neither certain nor prosperous. There is a definite possibility that unless greater openness is introduced, the very issues and developments that have the potential to further threaten the future viability and perceived purity of the Olympic Games and its image will be skirted around and not dealt with directly. If the image of the Olympic Games is tarnished in the short term by such issues, then the aftermath might well be considerably more difficult to manage. The next chapter will concentrate more specifically upon detailing the development of the bidding process and how that relates to the influence exerted by the media.

⁵⁴² Zantovsky, M. 'Mapping the Future: Independent Media Development in Central and Eastern Europe and in Russia' Keynote Address in, Freedom Forum Conference Proceedings (New York 1995) p.17

Chapter 7

ONE STEP BEHIND: POLICY, PRACTICE AND REALITY IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES BIDDING PROCESS.

This chapter begins with a general historical overview of the Olympic Games bidding process, and drawing upon the comparison in Chapter 6, this is expected to reveal broader issues affecting this particular fundamental aspect of the operation of the Olympic movement. Indeed further special consideration will be given to the financial successes of the Los Angeles Olympic Games of 1984 as a watershed in the history of organising a bid for the Olympics. The next section in this chapter will deal with the specific policies and agendas employed by the IOC's Bid Evaluation Commission that have been used for selecting an Olympic host since 1990. This is expected to highlight the inherent tensions that exist within the Olympic movement itself.

A close examination of the Olympic bid process for both Winter and Summer Games from 1996 through to Athens' successful bid for the forthcoming 2004 Olympics will illustrate the current structural situation related to the task of electing an Olympic host. Finally, this chapter details certain new and pressing challenges affecting the broader issue of where Olympic Games should be held. Conclusions will draw these strands together into a coherent illustration of the practicalities of the bidding process over the past Olympic century. For the purposes of the first part of this chapter the history of the bidding process has been divided into four distinct stages. These stages and the related organisational shifts that occurred due to the interaction of a number of diverse factors, both within and outside the Olympic movement, provide a framework for further analysis. These developmental stages are not intended to be exclusive or definitive; they simply provide a basis for an analysis of the practicalities of the Olympic Games bidding process.

Prior to the 1950s the process of finding a host was too often reactive on the part of the Olympic movement, as they were usually operating within a rapidly changing and uncertain global environment, indeed, one in which the position of their movement was still being established. Undoubtedly a certain degree of structural conservatism also

influenced the policy and decision-making process related to the suitability of an Olympic site at earlier points in the chronology. However, the Olympic movement did not even begin to promote a more positive and proactive organisational structure to the bidding criteria until the external pressures affecting the Olympic Games became impossible to ignore. Although eventually they did seek to react effectively and in a more proactive way, this was not enough. As the Olympic Games struggled on in the post-Second World War period, a new way of thinking about the event and the associated requirements for staging it, in terms of both finance and size, was needed.

It was to be some time before this new more dynamic emphasis was to occur, and even later before it became organisationally practical. The challenge to the status quo related to politics, commercial pressures and organisational strains were ongoing undercurrents, affecting the operation of the Olympic movement, following the Second World War. A new approach to both the administration of an Olympic Games and the means of financing them first required consideration by the IOC and then ratification by the Executive Board. As has already been discussed, the staging of the Olympic Games has subsequently and increasingly become as much about how to run an entertainment as well as a sporting event. The more recent introduction of a more relaxed stance by the Olympic authorities to commercial involvement and the maximisation of business opportunities has led to a widespread clamour from major international cities to act as host for the Olympic Games. The interest of a number of cities was gradually re-kindled primarily because the staging of the event was now viewed as an opportunity for both the nation and its individual citizens to benefit financially from the enterprise.

Increased international stature, profit-making opportunities and the expansion of commercial links that assist in the development of new facilities, are just some of the perceived and officially promoted benefits of acting as an Olympic host nowadays. Yet the developments in the bidding process from the period prior to the first Olympic Games in 1896 up to the First World War illustrate how the Olympic authorities did not always embrace the need or desire for change. In later cases, the failure to deal effectively with issues related to the amateur philosophy, the influence of external political pressures and

the growth of the media provide further indications of the kind of organisational intransigence that has existed within the IOC. By now considering the chronology of the bidding process, these and other pressures will be more fully analysed.

(i) Finding a host for the Olympic Games (1896-1920)

During this period, shifts in the emphasis taken by the Olympic authorities were reactions to problems and issues that arose to threaten the status quo at a given stage in the development of the modern Olympic phenomenon. This vague almost meandering approach was the key to the organisational flexibility required for future success, rather than being due to any particular policy initiative. During this period the Olympic Games were generally awarded to the first nation which applied for them. In practice, the Games could only ever be granted to those nations that were officially affiliated to the fledgling Olympic movement.⁵⁴³ There tended to be few cities prepared to act as Olympic hosts during these early years. In fact, it is fair to assume that the process of awarding the Olympic Games to a particular city was directly affected by the prevailing geo-political and economic climate affecting the Olympic movement as well as the personal agendas of those in control of the IOC.

The IOC had to constantly deal with fundamental difficulties related to the future viability of the Olympic revival movement as well as the practicalities of the events themselves. This suggests an inherent structural insecurity as well as a practical organisational weakness. The early Olympic Games provide examples of both the severe financial pressures and haphazard organisation inherent within these initial festivals. At this point, as was detailed in Chapters 1 and 2, securing the future of the Games themselves was the primary organisational aim. To this end, the 'Intercalary' Games of 1906 in Athens, although unofficial, helped to reposition the Olympic Games within the ancient Greek Olympic context. These particular Olympic Games allowed the movement to focus their efforts upon success as well as survival. However, swift improvements were required, in terms of the quality of both facilities and the spectacle itself, if the movement was to progress further in the manner hoped for by the Olympic leadership.

⁵⁴³ IOC, The Olympic Charter (Lausanne 1947) p.3

The predominance of especially European capital cities that hosted the games during this period suggests an inherent bias against many non-capital and non-European cities. This can be rationalised by officialdom as being related to the size and perceived stature of those sites that are required by Olympic hosts. It is conceivable that IOC administrators believed that anything other than a capital city would be incapable of providing the necessary stage for the Olympic Games. Whether such opinions were ever directly acted upon during this early period is far more debatable. What is clear is that many of the leaders of the Olympic movement including Pierre de Coubertin sought to promote a coherent and positive philosophical basis for the revivalist venture. This can be identified as an early attempt to market and project the idea of a developing Olympic image.

An important element of making the Games seem more attractive was the incorporation of symbols and ceremonies into the Olympic spectacle. It should be remembered that the primary organisational need at this stage was to secure the next site for the Games and to ensure the continuation of the Olympic movement. However, the IOC saw this as only another key part of their role as the guardians of the Olympic philosophy. The ability of the organisation to appear galvanised as a response to the destruction and tragedy of the First World War remained an important element in the steady rise of Olympic events and festivals into the global consciousness. Slowly the humanist ideas within the Olympic message were being recognised. This was in no small part due to the use of the ideals associated with Olympism to embellish proceedings. Organisational improvements were now essential and even small advances were officially lauded.⁵⁴⁴ Indeed, despite the 1920 Olympic Games being somewhat austere following the end of the First World War, Pierre de Coubertin and others within the Olympic movement hailed them as a great success, providing an example for future hosts.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁴ Guttman, A. The Games Must Go On p.17

⁵⁴⁵ Renson, R. The Games Reborn p.89

(ii) Tentative interest in the bidding process (1920-1948)

The Olympic movement continued to struggle for an identity throughout this period as problems related to amateurism and the specific eligibility criteria related to Olympic events dragged on. The fact that there was nothing even close to a universal definition of amateurism indicates some of the difficulties involved during this period.⁵⁴⁶ The situation is illustrated most markedly when analysing the differences between the individual definitions established by the ISFs, as well as those existing between nations. Such fundamental structural issues even threatened to overshadow the positive international aspects of Olympism as promoted by the Olympic movement via the Olympic Charter.⁵⁴⁷ Despite this, in the years immediately following the First World War, the organisation of and international reaction towards the Olympic Games improved markedly.

Clearly the early establishment of a relationship between the media of the day and the Olympic movement affected the ability of the revival movement to promote their organisation and its aims. As was covered in Chapter 5 this has been a difficult and dynamic relationship to analyse due to its inherent instability. To suggest that the coverage of the Olympics by the media whether particularly favourable or otherwise was not a factor in the growing recognition of the Olympic Games and its ideals would be a mistake. However, it was only later, with the growing power of the media as a vehicle for ideological transmission, that efforts at projecting a more favourable Olympic image to the media became more apparent. Crucially, it is this period that can be identified as the period when the Olympic Games slowly began to cement their position and relevancy within the global context to an extent that they had not done previously. Furthermore, the growing importance of Olympic ceremonial aspects during this period reflects the wider shifts within the Olympic movement, as well as the expansion of the duties of those cities that are successful in the bidding process.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁶ Glader, E. Amateurism and Athletics p.55

⁵⁴⁷ The later removal of the 'amateur ethos' from the Olympic Charter in 1972 is highly significant. Bryson, L. 'Sport, Drugs and the development of Modern Capitalism', in Sporting Traditions (May 1990) p.142

⁵⁴⁸ Buschmann, J. and Lennartz, K. 'Olympic Ceremonies 1932-1956', Paper presented at First Symposium on the Olympic Games Olympic Museum (Lausanne 1995) pp.7-15

The decision to hold the 1924 Olympic Games in Paris was partly due to a long held wish of Olympic founder Pierre de Coubertin to have the festival staged in his home country in a manner more successful than the previous instance in 1900.⁵⁴⁹ Such decisions are clear indications of the lack of a formalised bidding structure during this period. A similar process within the IOC established Amsterdam as the host for the 1928 festival.⁵⁵⁰ The most interesting aspect related to the geographical spread of the bidding process at this stage, is the fact that apart from the St. Louis Games of 1904, every Olympics to date had been held in European cities.⁵⁵¹ This is a further illustration of the Euro-centric power structure within the early Olympic movement, and evidence of the ruling out of many other cities (in non-European nations) from being considered as possible hosts for the Games at this early stage.

It is no coincidence that this period of post-war, peaceful international contact also led to the emergence and development of other international sporting festivals. The inaugural Winter Olympic Games were introduced at Chamonix in 1924,⁵⁵² the first World Cup football tournament was held in Uruguay in 1930,⁵⁵³ and the Empire Games were also first held in 1930 in Hamilton, Canada.⁵⁵⁴ However, there was a price to pay for this rapid expansion. The internal conflict between the branches of the Olympic movement also reached a peak during this period as the strains on the existing organisational structure began to show. The adherence to the concept of amateurism, as well as the role of wider structural instability related to the operation and scope of the growing Olympic movement and its attendant constituent parts, further contributed to this period of organisational tension and disagreement.

The fact that the Los Angeles Olympic Games of 1932 made a small profit amid a backdrop of economic depression at last allowed the IOC to promote the staging of an

⁵⁴⁹ MacAloon, J. This Great Symbol p.214 See also Guttman, A. The Olympics p.40

⁵⁵⁰ MacAloon, J. This Great Symbol pp.214-5

⁵⁵¹ This bias served to alienate many of the nations not directly affiliated to the western dominated increasingly capitalist Olympic movement. This could have had significant implications for the international pretensions of the Olympic movement, especially given the internal tensions present within the organisational structure in the 1930s.

⁵⁵² Polley, M. Moving the Goalposts: A History of Sport and Society Since 1945 (London 1998) p.41

⁵⁵³ Ibid p.41

Olympic festival as an opportunity for a potential host city.⁵⁵⁵ This small and yet significant business success in the early years of the staging of the Games reinforced the capitalist bias that was already apparent in the cities that had so far been chosen as hosts. Indeed, the United States has continued to be a regular and enthusiastic Olympic bidder from the very beginning of the Olympic revival movement.⁵⁵⁶ As the Olympic Games now became more firmly established in the sporting calendar, the directional emphasis within the Olympic movement began to shift slowly towards the introduction of more idealised ceremonial aspects to the event, in order to create a better and more appealing spectacle.⁵⁵⁷ The need for the world to cast off the shadows of the First World War had further facilitated a shift in emphasis, especially given the fact that the physical organisation of the Olympic Games was becoming, by degrees, more standardised.

This wider dynamic and the production of the Berlin 1936 Olympic spectacle meant that the general public perception of the Olympic Games as more than just another sporting event was beginning to spread.⁵⁵⁸ The role of the expansion of media forms in assisting the shift in perception is significant. Although exhaustive research has been carried out elsewhere into the 1936 Olympic festival,⁵⁵⁹ it is noteworthy, in the context of this thesis, that at this particular Olympic gathering, propaganda was used far more extensively than ever before. The more unsavoury aspects of public relations associated with the intrusion of political ideology and the use of propaganda were deliberately utilised in an attempt to give a specific agenda and image to these Games. In a number of ways they succeeded in making the 1936 Olympic Games into little more than a propaganda tool with which to present and idealise the prevailing Nazi ideology to a global audience.⁵⁶⁰ However, the successful transmission of this ideology was

⁵⁵⁴ Guttman, A. Games and Empires (New York 1994) p.127

⁵⁵⁵ Xth Olympic Organising Committee, Official report of the Games of the Xth Olympiad, Los Angeles 1932 p.44 in, ABC at U of I Box 102, Olympic Committee: Administration

⁵⁵⁶ Letter from City Mayor to Avery Brundage initiating a tentative bid by Columbus, Ohio for the Olympic Games of 1992 (11/8/1968) Box 192, Bids in, ABC at U of I

⁵⁵⁷ Buschmann, J. and Lennartz, K. 'Olympic Ceremonies 1932-1956' Paper presented at First Symposium on Olympic Games, Olympic Museum (Lausanne 1995) pp. 11-15 See also, Weyland, A. The Olympic Pageant (New York 1952) pp.83-6

⁵⁵⁸ Guttman, A. The Olympics p.70

⁵⁵⁹ See: Mandell, R. The Nazi Olympics, Guttman, A. The Olympics and Guttman, A. The Games Must Go On

⁵⁶⁰ Mandell, R. The Nazi Olympics pp.290-1

significantly undermined by the victorious performances of black American athletes in particular. This was not the only time that attempts have been made to use the Olympic sport-scape as a vehicle for the transmission of an ideology or political stance. To illustrate this point consider the subsequent problems associated with the Olympic Games held between 1968 and 1988, all of which were well documented across the range of media forms.

The new international aspect and outlook associated with the growth of global sporting events following the First World War were not immediately incorporated into existing structures. In fact, the issue of who wielded power within the Olympic movement gradually became so pressing that doubts were expressed as to the future direction and viability of the Olympic Games themselves. It is worth remembering that amateurism was still the dominant sporting ideology of this period. However, this theory was gradually to come under increasing pressure from a variety of commercial influences and interests that were to affect society as a whole due to the gradual growth of a consumer culture and the general improvements in the prevailing global business climate following the Second World War.

In the wider context of this thesis – the bid process and image management in the twentieth century – it is important to establish the rate at which the world's media began to proliferate and the pattern whereby their reach and immediacy increased. While this was covered in depth in Chapter 4, it is crucial to establish here that competition within the booming media industry was an important determining factor. The spread of the technology was crucial for the exposure of the latent power now held by the burgeoning forms of mass communication. This in turn saw the development of new reporting techniques as well as the incorporation of new technologies into the sporting arena, as the media delivery systems became included in the process of producing an Olympic Games. The effect of radio was to popularise the sporting event beyond that of the printed account, yet it was with television pictures that the Olympic movement found that it had most in common. It is with this in mind that the analysis now shifts to consider the bidding process in the period following the end of the Second World War.

(iii) Pawns, Politics and the Cold War (1948-1984)

The bidding process, as with everything else during this period, Olympic or not, was crucially affected by the ongoing political, ideological and propaganda tensions which existed throughout the post-war years. Much of the obvious tension between the Soviet Union and the United States associated with the Cold War was displayed as posturing within the Olympic arena itself. However, the pressures upon the internal politics of the IOC as a result of the inclusion of the Soviet Union in 1951, resulted in a wholly different emphasis within the wider Olympic movement.⁵⁶¹ Their inclusion came at a price. The Soviet Union had sought a significant level of involvement within Olympic organisational structures from the beginning. Again they spoke out against a perceived capitalist bias within the Olympic movement⁵⁶² and attempted to gain, under the auspices of a greater democratisation of the movement, as much influence as possible.

The negative aspects and points of contention that arose as a result of the concessions made to the communist bloc in general were viewed by the IOC as a small price to pay for the addition of a major global power such as the Soviet Union into the Olympic fold. Indeed, both internationalism and the promotion of peace are still key elements of the *raison d'être* of the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games. The United States, were unsurprisingly, less enamoured with the whole idea. Interestingly, given that the IOC President, Avery Brundage, was an American, he viewed the eligibility of Soviet state amateurs as completely different to the status of American college-sponsored athletes. While the former were acceptable under the amateur code, Brundage viewed the latter as exhibiting the worst traits of the professional, and as the antithesis of the prevailing amateur ideology.⁵⁶³

It is clear that the previously dominant position of Western Europeans and North Americans within the Olympic movement was under threat from the expansion to include

⁵⁶¹ Lord Killanin, *My Olympic Years* pp.14-15

⁵⁶² This was cited as a reason for the Soviet Union not having joined before 1951. Notably, Czarist Russia had actually taken part at the early Olympic Games. However, the USSR soon saw domestic sport as strong enough to defeat bourgeois states, thereby proving the vitality of the Soviet system. Riordan, J. in, Tomlinson, A. and Whannel, G. *Five Ring Circus* p.108

the Soviet Union and its allies. This fundamental shift affected the bidding process in a gradual but non-linear manner. Up to the end of the Second World War, the bidding process was little more than a presentation by prospective hosts as to their ability to act as a fitting stage for the Olympics. Consequently, as detailed in the previous Chapter, the 1950s in particular saw the development of a more detailed questionnaire, in order to establish, for the benefit of a prospective Olympic city, certain requirements and selection criteria as required by the IOC. This was the first attempt by the Olympic authorities to establish the suitability of prospective hosts. Indeed, this would have worked far better had there been a significant number of cities interested in fulfilling such a role.

Developmental difficulties and organisational tensions were ongoing throughout the 1950s, yet the Helsinki Games of 1952 provided a celebration of the Olympic Games that pleased many within the Olympic movement.⁵⁶⁴ The bidding for the 1952 Games had been unlike anything before. In the end six cities were interested in tabling a bid, although four of those were from the United States.⁵⁶⁵ Despite this expansion in the bidding process, many of the basic structural problems that we see affecting the particular nature of the Olympic Games during the 1950s are still problematic for the organisation of the event to this day. Indeed, the expansion of organisational demands upon the Olympic host-city, brought about by the practical use of television in the 1960s resulted in a solution to the issue of how to pay for and therefore develop the festival.

The celebration of athletics and idealised, graceful physicality was all that officially mattered to the Olympic authorities.⁵⁶⁶ It should be noted that commercial interests were gradually incorporated into Olympic structures as a result of an ever-closer relationship between the projection of the Olympic image via the Olympic Games, and the media forms of the day. The relationship was primarily dynamic and wholly

⁵⁶³ Daytona-Beach News 'Subsidised Athletes out of Olympics' (Associated Press) 1/12/1951 Box 245, My Biggest Battles in, ABC at U of I

⁵⁶⁴ 'From Helsinki to Lausanne', Speech given by President Avery Brundage when accepting the keys of office of the IOC from Ex-president J. Sigfrid Edstrom. Lausanne, 14/8/1952 Box 50, Who's who in the Olympics in, ABC at U of I

⁵⁶⁵ The cities involved were Minneapolis, Detroit, Philadelphia, Chicago, Amsterdam and Helsinki. Box 189 and Box 192, Bids in, ABC at U of I

unpredictable, and as such there was little that the Olympic authorities could do to either halt or even control the process. This suggests that not all Olympic image making has been part of a deliberate organisational process.

Cultural and class factors also influenced efforts towards staging the Olympic Games and preserving the wider organisational image. For example, the socio-economic aspects and class traditions of the Skiing governing body allowed payment to and sponsorship of competitors, much to the annoyance of the Olympic leaders, who still clung to amateurism as a central aspect of the Olympic philosophy. This general tension is more easily identifiable in the period associated with post-Second World War economic growth, and the development of consumerism during the 1950s and 1960s. Tensions related to the place of amateurism within the Olympic Games were never really dissipated. During the presidency of Avery Brundage the emphasis shifted from a centrally established set of eligibility criteria to those as established by each individual ISF, specifically governing the rules for Olympic competition in their particular sport. This is significant as one of the few instances during this period of direct control of such a fundamental aspect of the Olympic movement being delegated from the IOC to another core authority. The IOC remained in overall control of the issue of eligibility and occasionally the IOC would seek to make an example of an Olympic competitor for breaching the guidelines. While clearly this sent out the message that the IOC was in control of the organisation, it had little effect on any attempts at managing a solution to the problem.

The bidding cities for the 1956 Games would ensure a more international aspect, with the choice being between Buenos Aires and Melbourne. Both cities were in continents that had not previously hosted the Olympic Games. The decision went Melbourne's way and in 1956, following significant and tense disagreements between IOC President Brundage and the Melbourne organising committee at the planning stage,

⁵⁶⁶ Whannel, G. *Fields In Vision* p.173 See also Tomlinson, A. *The Game's Up: Essays in the Cultural Analysis of Sport, Leisure and Popular Culture* (Aldershot 1999) pp.218-222.

the Games were eventually successfully hosted.⁵⁶⁷ The movement was now beginning to spread its message further across the globe. By 1960, the re-incorporation of the defeated nations from the Second World War had begun with Rome acting as Olympic host city. Interestingly the only other city to bid against Rome was Tokyo, which was invited to bid to host the next festival in 1964. Although there were various competing bids tabled by Detroit, Vienna, Brussels and Tokyo,⁵⁶⁸ the desire on the part of the Olympic movement to see the Japanese host the Games was overwhelming. The process of reconciliation within the Olympic movement following the end of the Second World War was almost complete.

The televised transmission of idealised athletic images during this period provided the audience with a clear idea of what the festivals looked like and stood for. Undoubtedly this is a crucial element in the formation of an image. Indeed, as Chalip puts it; 'Audience interest in the Olympics is maximised via the simultaneous presence of multiple narratives, embedded genres and layered symbols.'⁵⁶⁹ He continues:

...in the case of the Olympics, they function jointly and at complementary levels. Narratives occur as a result of commentaries throughout the reporting of Olympic occurrences; genres become the rituals, celebrations, ceremonies and games of the Olympics; symbols are the elements from which each genre is constructed. The combination serves to further the appeal and power of Olympic sport.⁵⁷⁰

The later development of satellite communications is still influencing the practicalities of each Olympic gathering to this day. During this period, almost every media advance can be seen to effect a further transformation of the Olympic status quo. As soon as more extensive written criteria had been incorporated into the bidding process, the proportion related to the accommodation of the media significantly grew. In the bidding for the 1968 Olympic Games four cities expressed an interest to act as host.

⁵⁶⁷ 'Clown? No! Avery tells Australians' Chicago Daily News 28/7/56, 'Brundage called "Misinformed Bore"' Australian Daily Telegraph 5/6/56, 'Olympic World Chief Lashes Melb. Organisers' The Sun 30/7/56 Box 230, Press, 'Assurances from Menzies on Games, Says Olympic Chief' Canberra Times 4/8/56 Box 109, Press Analysis in, ABC at U of I

⁵⁶⁸ IOC, Olympic Newsletter Mar 1964, pp.327 -329

⁵⁶⁹ L.Chalip, 'The construction and use of polysemic structures: Olympic lessons for sport marketing', in Journal of Sports Management Vol.6 1992, p.87

These were: Detroit, Buenos Aires, Mexico City and Lyons.⁵⁷¹ Despite issues related to the physical climate at altitude, the brutal policing by the Mexican authorities and the 'black-power salute' within the Olympic stadium, the Mexico City games were only marginally tarnished by the Cold War-related tensions that had affected previous festivals.

The same use of the Olympic Games as a vehicle for ideological promotion by Palestinian terrorists at Munich in 1972 highlighted the fact that the Games had physically become too big to expect them to remain free from fringe ideologues attempting to hijack proceedings in front of a global audience.⁵⁷² Subsequently security became a key aspect in the hosting of an Olympic Games. A substantial amount of new documentation had to be included within the bidding process criteria to satisfy the security requirements of the Olympic authorities. During this period, an impression was created whereby the Olympic authorities lurched from one crisis to another and only when absolutely necessary did they seek to legislate for a solution. The ability of the bidding process to provide a focal point for Olympic administration effectively meant that it acted as the framework upon which to ensure future organisational health. That said, the practicalities were still some way behind the theory. It is noteworthy that during this period the IOC Executive Board established the Tripartite Commission that would examine the definite tensions between the three main branches of the Olympic movement and seek effective solutions. This illustrates how tension and turmoil existed at almost every turn for the Olympic movement throughout the 1970s and early 1980s.

The difficulties experienced at Montreal in 1976 were of a different kind altogether, as fundamental deficiencies in the financial management of the venture were to blame. Such huge losses were incurred by the city itself (approximately \$1bn) that these were subsequently felt by Quebec's taxpayers for decades. Interestingly, there were

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid p.94

⁵⁷¹ IOC, 'List of Candidate towns for the Games of the XIXth Olympiad and for the 1968 Winter Games' Box 190 and Box 191 Bids in, ABC at U of I

⁵⁷² The crisis at Munich made the Olympics a news event. This therefore focused attention on the Olympic Games. On the back of this attention, R.Arledge of US television network ABC made a '24-hour only' bid

three bidders for the 1976 Olympic Games – Montreal, Moscow and Los Angeles – who turned out to be the next three hosts of the summer Olympic festival. This provides an illustration of the difficulties experienced in attracting a variety of bidders to become involved in the process. The legacy of previous difficulties and the additional lack of direction from the Olympic leadership perpetuated a somewhat incompetent image of the authorities running the Games. While the Olympics were still desirable as a sporting festival with an associated globally-understood humanist philosophy, at this stage few cities felt inclined to extend their enthusiasm as far as to table a formal bid for the Games.⁵⁷³

By the Moscow Olympics in 1980 the ideological stand-off associated with the Cold War had returned to the fore, and the Olympic arena was capitalised on by the Soviet Union in a similar although lesser fashion to the 1936 Games in Berlin. In the event, a boycott movement led by the United States – ostensibly reacting to the Soviet Union's military invasion of Afghanistan – put paid to any competitive ideological oneness within the sporting arena, but also increased the pressure on the Olympic movement to act in the interests of the longer term. The IOC sought substantial support wherever it came from, in an attempt to secure the future of the Olympic Games. This support would also assist in the longer-term process of internal structural reform initiated by Lord Killanin. The absence of the United States and some of its allies led to the lack of a competitive element in the sporting events themselves, which in turn placed a downward pressure on the revenues obtained by the Moscow organising committee from global television rights and advertising fees. The subsequent budgetary shortfall experienced by Moscow raised questions over the future costs and therefore viability of staging the Olympic Games at all. In fact, it can be argued that there were few nations capable of absorbing a financial loss such as that experienced at the Moscow Olympics of 1980.

of \$25m for the rights to the Games in 1976. Klatell, D. and Marcus, N. Sports for Sale: Television, Money and the Fans (New York 1988) p.164

Regarding the notion of image, at this point it is worth clarifying that the Olympic movement was in a serious state. Over the course of the past three Olympic Games the desire to support the Olympic phenomenon seemed to be in terminal decline. At Munich 1972 the spectre of terrorism and the deaths of Israeli athletes left a definite stain on the reputation of the Olympic movement. The financial hangover felt by taxpayers after the mismanagement apparent during the planning of the Montreal Games further damaged the notion of the Olympic movement as a positive and unifying force. The political and global tension associated with the Moscow Olympics of 1980 again served to tarnish the image of the Olympic movement and the Games themselves.

As the Olympic movement and the Olympic Games expanded, there had been an increasing need for the sporting events to be managed effectively. Tight control of information was not always possible as issues and challenges arose which in turn presented various organisational difficulties. In many ways the inability of the Olympic movement to fully control their environment is affected by the sheer scope of its operations, and the diverse spheres in which the organisation operates. This process has directly affected the ability of the organisation to present a desirable and coherent image. Nevertheless at this stage, even a cursory glance back to the stated aims of the organisation illustrates how far short of their ideal the authorities actually were. It would require something truly spectacular for the process of decline to be halted.

(iv) An Olympic Watershed

Significantly, the bidding process had now taken on a practical procedure and cost of its own. Consequently, prospective hosts were now few and far between which meant that the only credible bid for the 1984 Olympics came from Los Angeles.⁵⁷⁴ The key aspect of the organisation of this particular Olympic Games was not the fact that a bid had been won, but the terms upon which it had been secured in consultation with the Olympic authorities. The concessions granted to the LAOOC were only possible because

⁵⁷³ The number of cities bidding for the Games had declined from 17 bidding cities between 1952 and 1968, to 11 between 1972 and 1988. This is examined further in Appendix 3; Olympic Bidding Cities Since 1896

the IOC had relaxed its tight regulations related to the ownership of rights and sponsorship of the Olympic events, as well as who was responsible for underwriting the cost of staging the Olympic Games.⁵⁷⁵ This slight yet significant change in the rules related to the responsibilities of hosts and how the event was to be financed provided the leeway for the Los Angeles Organising Committee to stage the Games as a profit-making enterprise. Interestingly, given the North American boycott of the 1980 Olympics, the Soviet Union responded in kind and declined the invitation to participate. Ultimately the success of the 1984 Olympic Games detracted from any impact such a move may have had upon Olympic structures.

As a result of the unprecedented media coverage received and profits made by the organising committee for Los Angeles 1984, the desire and motives of cities to host the Olympic Games have shifted significantly. Acting as Olympic host had long seemed akin to staring into a financial black hole. Prior to Los Angeles, political tensions and international terrorism were closely associated with the staging of the Olympic Games. However, with the Los Angeles Games of 1984 as an example, this soon began to change. The notion that the Olympic Games could actually be a viable profit-making enterprise that could provide lasting benefits for the host-city itself was a distant dream prior to the 1984 Olympics.⁵⁷⁶ The updating of the old existing facilities and the building of affordable new ones suggests that a realistic business-like approach to the bottom line and related issues of profitability was taken.

The subsequent financial success of the Los Angeles Games took everyone by surprise including the IOC, who were very unhappy at having missed out on their share of the \$225m profit made by the LAOOC.⁵⁷⁷ This wider shift in the practicalities of staging the Games and the new perception of the event as a means of revenue generation subsequently resulted in a far higher demand from cities across the globe to embark on

⁵⁷⁴ Teheran was the only other bidding city for the 1984 Olympics, and a tentative one at that. Uebberoth, P. with Levin, R. and Quinn, A. Made in America: His Own Story (New York 1985) p.27

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid pp.27-8

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid pp.92-3

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid pp.369-370

the process of selection for the right to act as Olympic host.⁵⁷⁸ To state that the operational concession to the LAOOC by the Olympic authorities was significant would be partially to miss the point. In fact, the Olympic authorities had little choice, as there was no credible alternative to Los Angeles. This in a sense further illustrates how the Olympic movement can be viewed as being one step behind what was required of an organisation with such lofty and idealised aims.

Since the mid-1980s onwards the Olympic movement has changed its emphasis by continuing to draw upon its revived traditions and ceremonial aspects, whilst wholeheartedly embracing a new commercial emphasis at an organisational level. This has served to incorporate external commercial pressures into organisational practice by appearing to show the Olympic movement as increasingly relevant and dynamic within the contemporary global context. Despite so many obvious controversies and tensions along the way – political intrusion and doping allegations among them – the Olympic Games continued to expand during this period. This was especially the case in terms of the numbers of competitors, the number of sports practised, the popularity of the festival for the audience, as well as, in the context of this thesis, the growing number of accredited media present at the festival. Such gigantism exerted further pressure on the bidding process, so much so that it can be argued that this is now the most important organisational task carried out by the Olympic authorities. In the bidding process for 1988 the bids had been voted on in 1982 prior to the success of the Los Angeles Olympics. As a result, this festival had attracted only two bids; Nagoya, Japan and Seoul, South Korea. Eventually, the Games were awarded to Seoul on the grounds that the strong environmental lobby in Japan would provide difficulties for Nagoya that the Olympic authorities were reluctant to tackle.⁵⁷⁹ After the success of the 1988 Olympics in terms of the finances and the athletic performances, and in spite of the high profile case involving the discovery of steroid abuse by Canadian sprinter, Ben Johnson, more cities than ever began to prepare bids for subsequent Olympic festivals. With these observations in mind, it is now prudent to consider in more depth the bidding process

⁵⁷⁸ See Appendix 3, Olympic Bidding Cities Since 1896

⁵⁷⁹ Hill, C. Olympic Politics p.168

since 1990 and whether the future is more secure than the past has been. The specific details of how the bidding regulations and procedures had developed to this point provide insights into the possible intricacies of bidding for future Olympic festivals.

With an event on the scale of the Olympic Games, a guarantee to meet infrastructure requirements as well as the necessary finances being in place, are necessary preconditions for the support of many of the ISFs. The finer points of the bidding process and the increasingly detailed nature of the bid documentation in recent years highlight the growth of both the procedures and costs associated with any bid proposal. Any potential host city primarily has to be prepared to be flexible with its planning approach. A host must be prepared to adapt to and to satisfy new requirements or even reappraisals of existing requirements as they are identified. During the seven-year period between the award of the Games to a particular city, and the actual hosting of the event, the practicalities can change significantly, including fundamental aspects of the budgetary parameters.

Flexibility on the part of the host is probably the single most important and valuable organisational trait that a city can have between it being granted the right to host the Games and actually staging them. A recent example of this relates to the organising committee for the 1998 Nagano Winter Games, which had approved a plan to increase its operating budget by \$70m, citing the main reason to be the yen's depreciation against the dollar.⁵⁸⁰ In many cases changes are usually necessitated by the specific competitive or planning requirements of events, which are invariably determined by the numerous ISFs. This can be viewed as creating further tensions of a structural nature between the IOC, the OCOG and the ISFs. How cities have to deal with change in the bidding process (partly as a result of organisational intransigence on the part of the Olympic authorities) is very different from the experience of the Olympic movement. However, the increasingly significant requirements of the media, as well as the media's more general ability to effect change, clearly impinge upon diverse aspects of the Olympic festival.

⁵⁸⁰ http://www.olympic.org_news/weekly/olynews257_e.html This Week's Olympic News No. 257, 27/3/97

(v) Barcelona to Atlanta

The 1992 Olympic Games were held in Barcelona, the home city of IOC President, Juan Antonio Samaranch, and were generally well received with many record-breaking sporting performances. Barcelona had lodged bids for the Olympics previously - in 1924, 1936 and 1972 - and were very enthusiastic about hosting the Olympic Games in 1992. The other bidding cities were Amsterdam, Belgrade, Birmingham, Brisbane and Paris, although Barcelona had been planning their bid as far back as 1978.⁵⁸¹ Once Barcelona's bid had been formally announced the lobbying began, despite a certain degree of infighting and tension between the national sports authorities in Spain. The disagreements between the interim organising committee (which later became COOB) and the Spanish NOC (COE) worsened when COE threatened to sue the organising committee for unauthorised use of the Olympic logos. (Interestingly, in terms of the creation of an image, Comité Organizador de los Juegos Olímpicos (COJO) would have been the natural acronym for use by the organising committee. However, in Spanish a 'cojo' refers to a lame man or a cripple, which was far from the image that was sought by the Olympic movement and the Barcelona organisers.)⁵⁸²

The tension calmed when Carlos Ferrer Salat, a recently elected IOC member, became COE president and vice-president of COOB, thereby co-ordinating efforts and improving relations between the organisations involved.⁵⁸³ At the same time the local press revelled in portraying conflict where issues unrelated to the Olympics came to the fore, primarily over who was to control the Barcelona Games. At the Los Angeles Games of 1984, IOC President Samaranch had stated that the Barcelona bid was strong if the city maintained its sporting, political and social unity.⁵⁸⁴ This was slowly achieved through the stewardship of Salat. In terms of extending their operation to try and secure enough IOC votes, the bid committee enlisted the assistance of Ambassador Ignacio Masferrer as he was thought to have the necessary gravitas for the role.⁵⁸⁵ Perhaps Barcelona's masterstroke in securing their victory, according to Hill, was that, '...each member of the

⁵⁸¹ Hill, C. *Olympic Politics* pp.181-2

⁵⁸² Ibid p.185

⁵⁸³ Ibid p.186

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid p.188

IOC received a personal letter from King Carlos, worth little in itself, yet [it was] a flattering mark of attention.⁵⁸⁶

Although it is often denied that blocks of voters exist, Barcelona felt confident of support from the majority of the Latin American members. While he had not actively lobbied for Barcelona, Samaranch openly wished that his home city would be chosen. After Barcelona had won, he began to take a closer interest in the preparations.⁵⁸⁷ Samaranch became increasingly worried about the failure of some of the city's plans to materialise, although COOB did not appreciate what they viewed as outside interference. It was not just the President who was unhappy. In January 1990 an ANOC commission was highly critical of COOB's attempts to cut costs related to visitors accommodation, referring to such measures as meanness.⁵⁸⁸

As is often the case in the planning of an Olympic Games, not all the facilities and infrastructure are completed exactly according to schedule. In fact, despite the worries of the IOC over the progress of venues for the sailing and equestrian events, the Games went ahead but were a qualified success. The games had managed to make a small profit (\$3.27m), over 169 NOCs were represented and almost 130,000 people were accredited, approximately 10 per cent of who were from the media.⁵⁸⁹ It had provided a spectacle and as usual the worldwide television audience had increased. However, the progress made in the staging of the festival between Seoul and Barcelona was less than many had expected. The modest profit accrued provides a case in point. The Los Angeles Games of 1984 still served as a benchmark for the successful staging of the gathering, yet no host since had fully maximised the opportunities that the staging of the Olympic Games could open up.

The experiences four years later at the Atlanta Games again highlighted how the Olympic festival had become increasingly easy to exploit and ambush, this time by external commercial interests. In fact, the apparent commercial excesses developed into a

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid p.189

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid p.190

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid p.195

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid p.192

controversy that the IOC's marketing Director, Michael Payne, described as follows: 'It is a matter of the whole image of the Olympic Games. The goal of bidding candidates is to put the city in the best possible light.'⁵⁹⁰ He continued, citing details that unfettered street vendors and impromptu markets outside Olympic venues created a less than desirable image of the city and the Olympic festival, by stating that,

... the IOC has a number of rules about how the Olympic Games can be used in advertising. Last year the organisation said it would be tightening its rules on commercialism and would not give the Olympic Games to cities in the future unless they agreed with marketing plans.⁵⁹¹

He included the fact that,

... this was agreed to by all cities involved in the bidding process at present. We are preaching to the converted. They [the cities] know they have to take the administrative steps to avoid local misunderstandings on this.⁵⁹²

Allied to the fact that marketing and the control of the Olympic environment are essential elements of the bidding process and the IOC's production of the Olympic Games, the accommodation of the media has become increasingly important within the organisational equation. For example, the accreditation centre for the Nagano Winter Games in 1998 dealt with the accreditation of 80,000 journalists and officials as well as 20,000 volunteers. As has already been noted in previous chapters, volunteers have always made up a key element of the organisational effort throughout the modern Olympic Games. This is a process that continues despite the profit-maximising strategies of successive organising committees. Notably, there were around 40,000 volunteers who took part in the production of the recent Sydney Games in 2000.

Organisationally, there were significant problems that became apparent only after the Atlanta Games had begun. The transport difficulties experienced in the city were worse than ever, with some athletes being caught in traffic and not making crucial deadlines for training and competition. Although these instances of athletes being so

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid p.195

⁵⁹⁰ <http://www.infoseek.com/olympics> Warner, A. 'Olympic bid cities warned on commercialism' *Infoseek Olympics* 25/6/97

⁵⁹¹ Ibid

⁵⁹² Ibid

seriously affected were rare, it was something that the IOC were very unhappy about.⁵⁹³ This lingering issue remained significant but became secondary after the intrusion of terrorism into the Olympic zone. A terrorist pipe-bomb exploded in Atlanta's centennial Olympic park late one evening while innocent bystanders were caught up in the blast. Although casualties were light (given the potential for further death and injury) the less than ideal image of the Olympic movement that this episode portrayed further dismayed the Olympic authorities. By now considering more closely the bidding for the 2000 Summer Games, important insights are expected to establish the present state of the bid process and the recent experiences of potential host cities related to the development of the Olympic image.

(vi) 2000 and beyond

The experience of Sydney, the successful bidder and host for the Olympic Games in 2000, is of particular interest given the climate within the 'hidden' bidding process referred to earlier. The particular prevailing political and policy climate influences the notion of both an open and a hidden bidding process existing between lobbying for and being awarded the Games. This is apparent even from a cursory glance into the development of the successful Sydney bid. It is sufficient to say that circumstances beyond the immediate control of SOCOG benefited their bid in terms of the extra lobbying opportunities afforded by the staging of the GAISF assembly in the city. This was held not long after Sydney had declared its intention to be Olympic host, providing an ideal opportunity to additionally lobby those in attendance.

Indeed, the desires and requirements of the individual branches of the Olympic movement have also significantly affected fundamental operational variables. In the case of Sydney, SOCOG budgetary parameters had to be re-appraised once the programme of events was finalised.⁵⁹⁴ Subsequently as the business climate developed and improved, Michael Knight, the President of SOCOG, announced, in 1997, a budget surplus more

⁵⁹³ BBC 1, *The Greatest Show on Earth* (12/8/1996) The local Olympic organising committee were publicly questioned by senior IOC members as to what had gone wrong.

⁵⁹⁴ http://www.olympic.org_news/weekly/olynews263_e.html This Week's Olympic News No.263, 9/5/97

than twice the size of that estimated in 1993 when the city was awarded the Games.⁵⁹⁵ Interestingly, at a more local level, Sydney organisers were also caught up in a bed tax row, related to attempts at gaining extra revenue for covering the cost of the Games.⁵⁹⁶ Sponsorship revenues were potentially under threat, as initially it seemed that the sponsors could not be guaranteed their desired hotel accommodation as part of their packages. This was presented to the media by John Coates, SOCOG vice-President, in the form of the following statement: 'We have not had a bigger problem than this since we started organising the Games.' 'It is a very serious threat, and it is very damaging to our marketing department.'⁵⁹⁷

Obviously there were other serious local issues affecting the planning of this particular Olympic festival, such as Aboriginal rights, environmental concerns, and the escalating costs involved in staging the event. Perhaps the weight given to the issue of accommodation charges stemmed from the bed tax row representing problems for the accommodation of official sponsors, who together were responsible for the injection of A\$300m into the Games budget.⁵⁹⁸ In terms of the wider emphasis of this thesis, the 'image management' of a bid can be vital, something that is apparent in the SOCOG operation early on in the development of their bid. SOCOG established solid links with the local and national media, involving them in publicity initiatives from an early stage. Undoubtedly, the long-term efforts at image maintenance on the part of the IOC and the other Olympic agencies facilitated such public relations successes as those experienced at Sydney by SOCOG.⁵⁹⁹ At the same time, there have been significant public relations problems in terms of the broader Olympic image recently related to the perception of ineffective checks and balances within Olympic structures - especially following the Salt Lake City vote-buying scandal. This meant that a competent public relations operation at Sydney, saw the 2000 Games come across as spectacular, compared with the negative image of the Olympic movement that had prevailed at the end of 1998.

⁵⁹⁵ http://www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews260_e.html This Week's Olympic News No.260, 18/4/97

⁵⁹⁶ <http://www.infoseek.com/olympics> Warner, A. 'Olympic Bidding Cities warned on Commercialism' *Infoseek Olympics* 25/6/97, also, <http://www.infoseek.com/olympics> Warner, A. 'Sydney Organisers caught in Bed Tax Row' 16/6/97 *Infoseek Olympics*

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid

Regarding the direct competition between different nations seeking to host the Olympic Games in 2000, Sydney had made provisions for an Amnesty International report into human rights in China to be released, should they need to improve their image compared to that of their main rival, Beijing. During the bidding for the 2000 and the 2004 Olympic Games, the IOC practically disregarded the human rights record in China, thereby allowing Beijing to promote itself as a potential host for the Olympic Games. This was little more than a simple exercise in political expediency as an aim of the Olympic movement is still to internationalise its spread and appeal. Chinese involvement was a desirable form of internationalism, as expansion could be relatively easily accomplished by the staging of the event in territories that had not previously hosted the festival. In this case China was an acceptable host as it has a huge population, and has hopes to increasingly include itself in an Olympic and global future.⁶⁰⁰

In the case of the Olympic movement, many operational structures which were established in the nineteenth century have little relevance for continued organisational successes in the twentieth century. The forthcoming Olympic Games of 2002 in Salt Lake City, and 2004 in Athens, also provide important details related to the operation of the bidding process as well as the effective structure of the Olympic movement. The experiences of these successful bidders and the reaction by certain cities, namely Quebec City, Canada and Sion, Switzerland, to their respective failed bids (and the actual operation of the selection process), provide crucial examples of dissenting voices from within the wider Olympic movement. These tensions will be more clearly detailed in the next chapter. With this in mind it is practicable to establish the chronology of the bidding process for the 2002 Winter Olympic Games. Awarded to Salt Lake City, Utah, the actions and behaviour by Olympic officials surrounding this particular bid have turned out to be the worst scandal to hit the Olympic movement since the boycotts of the 1980s. In fact, as this particular issue relates so closely to the idea of a lack of confidence in the ethics of the Olympic authorities, it can be viewed as being fundamentally more damaging. The issues surrounding this particular bid related to a culture of improper gifts

⁵⁹⁹ Interview with A.Jennings. London (16/8/2000)

⁶⁰⁰ <http://www.sportsweb.com/1999/03/06/olympics-bid.htm> 'Sydney Bid to Discredit China Overruled' Reuters Sportsweb 6/3/1999

for IOC members, many of which could be viewed as excessive to the point of constituting bribery. While almost a third of members were implicated in the scandal, approximately ten per cent resigned or were removed from office.

Despite the obvious and well documented problems thrown up by the revelations related to Salt Lake City, the tone of official comment remained upbeat. Just a few days before the scandal broke into the public arena, and presumably aware of the gathering storm, IOC President Samaranch stated that:

Literature, art, architecture and design have helped to ensure that the images of the Olympic Games live on in our memories and with them the values of Olympism exist as a source of physical and mental equilibrium as well as a factor of fraternity among peoples that promotes mutual understanding.⁶⁰¹

Undoubtedly, given the general climate that existed prior to the news of improper practices surrounding the 2002 Winter Olympic Games, there can be little doubt that improper conduct by IOC members was also a part of previous bid campaigns both successful and unsuccessful. Indeed, IOC Vice-President Dick Pound believed that this form of sharp practice must have been going on for some significant period and asked that the ad-hoc committee established by the IOC should widen its search for wrongdoing on the part of IOC members if further evidence came to light.⁶⁰² As a matter of urgency the Olympic authorities sought to further control the lobbying of IOC members prior to an official vote on bidding cities, stating that the IOC would welcome any proposals from the committee's findings that might suggest a means of modifying the Olympic Games bidding process.⁶⁰³ The experience of SOCOG and its relations to potential advertisers, in the wake of allegations relating to improper practice within the bidding for the Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City, provides testament to how important the production and maintenance of a particular image is to the Olympic organisational authorities. The threat from John Hancock Insurance services to withdraw their sponsorship of the Sydney

⁶⁰¹ http://www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews345_e.html This Week's Olympic News No.345. 4/12/1998

⁶⁰² http://www.olympic.org/weekly/news/olynews347_e.html This Week's Olympic News No.347. 17/12/1998, and <http://www.sportsweb.com/1999/03/15/olympics-sydney.htm> 'Sydney 2000 bid breached rules, no corruption: report' Reuters Sportsweb 15/3/1999

⁶⁰³ <http://www.sportsweb.com/1999/03/15/olympics-sydney.htm> 'Sydney 2000 bid breached rules, no corruption: report' Reuters Sportsweb 15/3/1999

Games was a result of the tarnished image of the Olympic Games in the wake of the Salt Lake City corruption scandal.⁶⁰⁴ The experiences of Organising Committees for the Olympic Games (OCOGs) have generally provided a number of valuable insights into the relative effectiveness of Olympic operations at different points in time.

By returning the emphasis of the piece towards image maintenance within the bidding process, it is possible to recognise the link between this aspect of Olympic administration and the success of the Olympic Games themselves. The production of high-quality competition and drama at an Olympic Games, involving both emotion and imagery, soon takes on an idealised hue that provides a suitable vehicle for the projection of a variety of official messages and ideals.⁶⁰⁵ Interestingly, no matter which city provides the stage for the spectacle that is the Olympic Games, the IOC and the Executive Board are still closely involved in projecting the desired image of the Games. Recent examples of this include the design of the torch for the Winter Games in Nagano 1998, the plans for the Olympic flame relay for Sydney 2000, as well as the budget for the organisation of the Sydney Olympic Games.⁶⁰⁶ Maintaining control is paramount for the core Olympic authorities. However, this must be tempered by the desire for Olympic hosts to act independently. As there is a growing bureaucratic model with more bodies responsible for more diverse areas of the organisation of the festival, the IOC and the Executive Board have further sought to impose their strength and organisational standing wherever possible.

A particularly good example of recent continuing tensions within a developing bureaucratic model is the growing awareness of the importance of environmental and social issues in the planning of an Olympic bid. There are numerous examples of pressure groups affecting the dynamics of an Olympic bid in this respect. Good examples are Denver pulling out of hosting the 1976 Winter Games,⁶⁰⁷ and the effect of Toronto's

⁶⁰⁴ http://www.olympic.org/partners/top/hancock/hancock_e.html TOP Partners 1/3/1999

⁶⁰⁵ Brown, J. *Techniques of Persuasion* p.83

⁶⁰⁶ http://www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews265_e.html This Week's Olympic News No.265. 23/5/1997

⁶⁰⁷ 'Their New Alps' *Ski*(editorial), Dec 1971 p.82 Box 114, *Future of the Winter Olympic Games* in *ABC at U of I*

‘Bread and Roses’ coalition on that city’s bid ambitions in the late 1980s.⁶⁰⁸ These seemingly diverse efforts were related to an old problem for the Olympic movement, namely how to limit the size and growth of the Games as a festival, thereby keeping them manageable within the local context. It is important to identify the related and officially stated benefit of being an Olympic host - namely the issue of how staging the Games actually benefits the citizens of a city and the wider national population. In many instances, diverse Olympic observers hotly contest the reality of this situation.⁶⁰⁹ However, the example of environmental considerations impinging on the Olympic Games illustrates how a practical reality can quickly become a policy issue. In due course, after a suitable period of consideration and analysis, many such issues are accommodated within or affected by official organisational policy. In essence, how ongoing pressures from the wider society affect Olympic organisations and sporting governing bodies, provide an example of an intransigent and anachronistic structure that neither has the required flexibility, nor a satisfactory and sympathetic climate, in which to embrace the opportunity afforded by such change.

The bidding process is an instance when the representatives of the Olympic movement control the granting of the Olympic Games to a particular city, nation or more indirectly a political system. The endorsement of the Olympic movement is therefore almost universally sought with eagerness and anticipation by both government and public alike. Structurally, this whole process relates to the search for an appropriate site for the celebration of the Olympic Games, thereby ensuring the success of the event. The concentration of sites for the Summer Olympic Games within ‘western’ nations points to a general Euro-American bias within Olympic organisations. This can be partially explained by the European and North-American tradition associated with the revival movement at the turn of the nineteenth century. This has had the effect of providing these nations with direct control of the Olympic movement as a result of their greater influence on the IOC. Few second or third world nations that bid for the right to host the Olympic Games have been successful. In many cases these bids are knocked out at the earliest

⁶⁰⁸ Kidd, B. ‘From “Excellence” to “Bread and Roses”: The transformation of the Toronto Olympic bid’ *Australian Society for Sport History* (Canberra 1991)

⁶⁰⁹ Interview with A. Jennings, London (16/8/2000)

possible stage. This then begs the question: what exactly are the reasons for cities bidding for the Olympic Games when they are predictably unsuccessful?

It is noteworthy that there has not yet been a role for Africa, or South America, in the staging of the Olympic Games, as these areas are still perceived as not satisfying the required economic and safety criteria.⁶¹⁰ Nevertheless, Cape Town of South Africa did table a bid for the 2004 Games, which was well received by many within the Olympic movement.⁶¹¹ However, the same IOC members stopped short of supporting the bid in the actual voting. It should also be noted that a significant number of African athletes also feature very prominently on the medal rostrum, yet their nations are denied the right to be taken seriously as potential hosts. Another group that can be rejected at the evaluation stage are those bids from cities within economically poor nations in global terms. The viability of holding the Olympic Games in a particular city can be directly affected by the ability of the Olympic movement to successfully promote their image and agenda within the framework of the events taking place at that particular site.⁶¹² This unwritten requirement is almost always going to be served more effectively by capitalist, developed countries.

Nevertheless, the position of the Olympic movement is still as reactive to external pressures as before. A culture of contentment that exists within the status quo (gathering revenues and distributing them) gives the Olympic organisations tremendous financial and operational security. Yet the same authorities, which could now meet the costs of staging the Games themselves should a particular host be unable, would be unwilling to ever take such action. Given the funding of the Olympic movement, is the current commitment to Olympic Solidarity sufficient in terms of the finances required for effective grass roots development?⁶¹³ It is an illustration of the health of the Olympic

⁶¹⁰ South Africa also bid for the right to host the 2006 FIFA World Cup, but they were beaten in the voting by Germany. During the lobbying process similar concerns were raised by the FIFA delegates who visited Cape Town, as those that were raised by the Olympic movement.

⁶¹¹ Du Lange, P. The Games Cities Play: The staging of the greatest socio-economic event in the world (Pretoria 1998) pp.205-6

⁶¹² <http://www.olympic.org> Electing a City to host the Olympic Games 3/7/1997

⁶¹³ According to D.Aikman of the IOC's marketing department, the level of funding for the whole Olympic Solidarity development programme over the period of an Olympiad (as at 4/6/99) was \$121m. Aikman, D.

movement that they can nowadays attract at least five or more bidders for each Olympic Games. Despite the difficulties and scandals surrounding the bidding for the Salt Lake City Winter Games in 2002, there are at least eight cities that are interested in bidding for the 2008 Summer Games.⁶¹⁴ Indeed, the successful expansion of the numbers of cities that table a bid to stage the festival has meant that at an organisational level, regulation has now become a requisite element of members' conduct. In this way the Olympic movement's promotion of an image and involving the constant striving towards a form of inclusive, ethical internationalism, is influenced less by certain unofficial, yet obviously personal motives and agendas. A significant move towards the bidding process being seen to be effective is the proposal to limit bidding to one city from each continent, although this is not yet fixed as policy. However, even the fact that such change is being seriously considered in order that the bidding process is seen to have more equity to it, especially in terms of its operation and the final choice of venue,⁶¹⁵ is a step forward.

Conclusion

What is clear from the analysis in the previous chapter is that this decision includes an increased concession to the demands of the global media. In recent years the huge growth in internet traffic and the subsequent transmission of sporting events through specific web-sites have provided a very cheap means of making sports events available to the general public. However, this new development has significant implications for the control exerted by the Olympic authorities over the wider Olympic world. As far as the Olympic movement is concerned there is a possible conflict between the sale of exclusive television rights and officially sanctioned Internet transmissions. As a means of regulating this process, the IOC and the Olympic movement have sought to establish control over the transmission of Olympic images over the internet. Such developments are not entirely detrimental to the Olympic movement as web-casts are invariably done

'Olympic Marketing: Its contribution to the strengthening of the Olympic Movement and the development of sport world-wide' Conference Paper to the 10th International Seminar for Sports Journalists IOA, Olympia, Greece (June 1999) (Unpublished) p.8

⁶¹⁴ http://www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews346_e.html This Week's Olympic Highlights No.346, 11/12/98 (The 8 cities bidding for the 2008 Olympic Games are Beijing, Buenos Aires, Istanbul, Kuala Lumpur, Osaka, Paris, Seville and Toronto.)

on a 'Pay-Per View' basis, so at least further revenue potential exists. This is a practice that seems to have increasing relevance for the future of broadcasting, especially regarding the practical coverage of all Olympic sports and events. After all, only a small proportion of the events held at an Olympic Games are ever shown on a live basis. Invariably the most popular sports receive the majority of broadcast airtime. Increasingly the Internet and associated information technologies provide an important medium for transmitting the official image. However by its nature, this medium is notoriously difficult to retain anything other than a minimal level of control over.

In a 1998 meeting between the then UK sports minister, Tony Banks, and IOC President Samaranch, it was stated by the IOC President that a British bid for 2012 Olympic Games would be looked upon favourably by the IOC but only if London was the proposed site.⁶¹⁶ Have the requirements of the present day Olympic festivals precluded certain cities from being accepted as Olympic hosts? In most cases the Olympic site will have to be spectacular as there will be significant competition to win the right to act as host. The city must provide a fitting backdrop for the Olympic spectacle. Does an Olympic host city have to be a nation's capital? Increasingly this will be the case as many smaller countries have at least one city that is capable of providing the required infrastructure. Invariably, these cities are the nation's capital. However, it is likely that this will be less important in future than the physical size of the city and the site and facilities being offered.

Should there be an increased environmental and social element within the Olympic Games bidding process, and not just one that is sidelined by the inclusion of increasing commercial and media driven policy? Clearly there are a number of unwritten criteria that will play a part in influencing the voting behaviour of individual IOC members. These include factors such as the security, size, comfort, infrastructure and the closeness of the hosts to the Olympic ideals as well as the commercial viability of the

⁶¹⁵ <http://www.sportsweb.com/news/OLY/OLY-nSEO008579.09-15-23.html> 'No hasty reforms, Samaranch tells IOC' *Reuters Sportsweb* 17/6/1999, <http://www.sportsweb.com/news/OLY/OLY-nL25293474.11-50-35.html> 'Samaranch looks towards brighter future' *Reuters Sportsweb* 30/4/1999

⁶¹⁶ BBC 1 News 13/5/1998

proposal. (For other determining factors see the previous chapter related to the specific bidding criteria.) Whether these factors are capable of being influential in terms of changing a particular vote is unclear. Indeed, even cultural interpretations – an important determinant for both perception and reception to occur – are usually downplayed, especially when it suits those in a position of power within the Olympic bureaucracy. The apparent simplicity of the bidding process belies its ability to operate according to the direct or indirect influence of variables that are operating at a broader organisational level.

The bidding process therefore remains a vital aspect of the operation of the Olympic movement and its related organisations. It can be argued that apart from directing the Olympic authorities towards the stated central and official goals of the movement, selecting a host city is the IOC's most important operational task. So much of the success and image of the Olympic Games relies upon the correct choice being made for the next Olympic host. Clearly on a number of occasions, the bidding process was nothing more than an ad hoc decision by a few senior IOC members. Nowadays, the decision on the next Olympic site must not only be operationally correct but the authorities must also be seen to be acting correctly throughout the process. The relative openness of the procedure significantly affects the perception of the official Olympic image at an organisational level, but also for the global media audience. On one level, this allows greater control by the Olympic movement over the 'feel' of a particular Olympic festival, as they extend their role in the production of events. That said, the Olympic movement is still a relatively secretive authority and seems unlikely to change soon. The title refers to the Olympic movement as being 'One step behind', in this case related to the external factors that influence the wider reality. This seems to be a pretty reliable summation of the history of the Olympic movement related to the bidding process. In the next chapter, the analysis will focus more specifically upon the implications for the Olympic Games, the Olympic image, and the Olympic movement of the shifts in the bidding process detailed here. Particular emphasis will be placed upon an appraisal of the relevancy of Olympism related to the demands of the media and the practicalities of the bidding process at the beginning of a new century.

Chapter 8

'CLEANING THE LENS...': ORGANISATIONAL TRANSPARENCY AND THE IDEA OF A NEW AND DYNAMIC OLYMPISM.

It is in the nature of interactions within and between 'knowledge systems' to make manifest certain sorts of information and keep other sorts hidden. The essence of all communities resides in sacred places symbolically represented by cultural objects. These are, at the same time, both public and private, where the symbol of communal solidarity is displayed in rituals of public affirmation, and where legitimacy and authority is conferred on particular people. The sacredness of such rituals is defended with much vigour because they are the symbols through which the old order defends its privileges. In materialist terms they serve to disguise or veil the processes whereby surplus value is appropriated, and people are consigned to inferior or subordinate positions in the organisation, nation or world order.⁶¹⁷

While not directly relevant in an Olympic sense, the above quotation does seem to explain some of the practices that are apparent within similar organisations to the Olympic movement. Clearly in its guise as an international organisation, it is helpful to project the Olympic organisations as comprising many internal systems. How the Olympic authorities react to and manage such systems is determined by the necessity to get a particular message across to the audience, and the best way to understand about the Olympic movement is in these terms. The implication within the above quotation is that the reality regarding the effective structure of organisations is usually different from that which is officially projected. This chapter will take the form of an appraisal and analysis of the practices and realities so far established as being of use to the Olympic movement and its governing authority, the IOC. It is with this in mind that this chapter will provide a means of collating the differing approaches that have been employed. A review of the hypothesis proposed in the introduction to the thesis paves the way for this chapter to draw together issues and arguments raised within the analysis and points the way towards conclusions.

By now providing an appraisal of the differing analytical strands covered so far - especially concerning the bidding process, Olympism and the media - it is possible to establish a more contemporary focus related to the situation within current Olympic

⁶¹⁷ Marsden, D. in, Wright, S. (Ed) The Anthropology of Organisations (London 1994) p.53

structures. An emphasis on the concept of Olympism and the practical operation of the bidding process is important from the point of view of the analytical development of the thesis. The theory of Olympism, as we covered in Chapter 1, thrives and draws strength from the vague, often abstract nature of the values associated with it. How much has this flexibility within the central philosophy allowed the Olympic authorities to subtly shift the image and the organisational emphasis whilst seemingly maintaining the status quo? Conjecture and supposition are ultimately unhelpful. However, the shifts that have occurred within the bidding process for the Olympic Games seem to have been largely unexpected and almost always relate to external pressures being brought to bear at the organisational level. The interaction between the goals of Olympism and the demands of the media is a crucial element that further affects this dynamic.

The haphazard and unpredictable nature of these external pressures suggests that the Olympic authorities may not manage to control the organisational direction as easily they often seek to portray. It should be reiterated that the link between the Olympic image and the philosophy of Olympism is important for the management and presentation of the former. Undoubtedly fundamental shifts and pressures affecting the philosophy will in turn have an effect on the image projected by the Olympic organisations. After having analysed the broad concept of Olympism in terms of the structure of the Olympic authorities, insights have been gained into the fundamental organisational issues that have plagued the Olympic movement over the past century. This process has also highlighted how the official IOC position, via the promotion of the Olympic philosophy, had endured through the period prior to the 1950s. Thereafter, attempts at image control became increasingly important as exposure via the media developed.

As was established in Chapter 6, the increased sophistication and complexity of the bidding process over time provides an illustration of the machinations of the wider Olympic movement. Furthermore, the Olympic movement is clearly not one of the most open of governing bodies so the exposure that the bidding process provides into internal Olympic procedures and the role it plays in providing examples of official comment has been invaluable for this thesis. As is the case with similar sized organisations, attempts at

control of the Olympic image by the Olympic movement via the media have not always been successful. There appears to be an inherent problem related to the inconsistent manner in which reception of a given image occurs.⁶¹⁸ Accountability and how checks and balances can affect organisational procedure and the projection of an official image, are also key concepts that underpin the focus of this chapter.

While initial consideration was given in the last chapter to the tainted Salt Lake City bid for the 2002 Winter Games, the analysis here will move on to consider in greater depth this recent scandal related to the bidding process. Finally, by examining the possibility of the whole Olympic movement embracing change to the extent that a new and fundamentally more realistic and manageable form of Olympism (or any alternative Olympic philosophy) can be constructed, crucial structural determinants are highlighted and re-emphasised. The development of the bidding process has undoubtedly led to shifts in the nature and emphasis of the Olympic philosophy as the practicalities of the theory have changed. These shifts were a result of the management of the philosophy within official Olympic structures, the motives of individuals within the organisational structure, as well as more generally being influenced by factors outside the immediate sporting sphere.

(i) The image of Olympism within the bidding process.

There have been a number of allegations of past instances of organisational corruption relating to the bidding process throughout the 1990s. These claims were, until recently, vehemently denied by the Olympic movement. It was due to the lack of official information of any kind that allowed such conjecture and speculation from investigative journalists in the first place. This was invariably a reaction to the culture of secrecy that existed in many official documents. Indeed, relevant information related to the particular reasons for shifts in the bidding process dynamic has been notoriously difficult to obtain and verify. It should be recognised that the bidding process has attracted, over an extended period, largely unsubstantiated charges of bribery, corruption and worse,

⁶¹⁸ Greener, T. The Secrets of Successful Public Relations and Image-Making (Oxford 1991) p.70

depending upon the particular source.⁶¹⁹ Indeed, in this regard the following quotation from an Ex-IOC president is significant.

The Olympic Movement has grown and developed in style and power over the past 50 years, while the IOC has only recently changed. Whatever the changes, however often people and organisations break the rules, the original concept of de Coubertin's trusteeship must be maintained.⁶²⁰

The fact that charges of improper practice were usually unsubstantiated remained problematic for the IOC especially related to their aim of the projection of a consistently desirable public image during this period. Many observers and bid organisers had accepted sharp practice as part of the way that the Olympic authorities operated. As the facts became clear over what had actually transpired prior to the award of the 2002 Winter Games, the details directly served to undermine the pristine quality of image, so highly valued and promoted by the IOC and the Olympic movement. It is clear that one of the fundamental issues that will have to be addressed by the Olympic movement relates to how to curb the type of sharp practice and corruption that has occurred in the past. Such efforts should establish guidelines to be followed by all parties involved in the bidding process, during the lobbying of IOC members. It should also clarify the responsibilities of potential host cities, the general operation of the bidding process and whether any changes should be made in future. Regarding the state of the Olympic philosophy, the following quotation establishes the position of the Olympic Games themselves in promoting an idealised positive image.

The Olympic Games are a great international festival of the youth of the world which is made possible by the contribution of the services of thousands of amateur sportsmen, competitors and officials alike, from nearly every civilised country.⁶²¹

This quotation is highly significant, especially given the emphasis placed upon the central role of volunteers and amateurs at the Olympic Games.⁶²² The use of volunteers has been highly beneficial (as a cost minimisation exercise) to every Olympic Games

⁶¹⁹ Jennings, A. The New Lords of the Rings See also www.olympic.org/e/news/pressreleases Press Releases (December 1998)

⁶²⁰ Lord Killanin, My Olympic Years p.13

⁶²¹ IOC, Information for cities which desire to stage the Olympic Games (Lausanne 1957) p.8

⁶²² Toohey, K and Veal, A. The Olympic Games: A Social Science perspective (Wallingford 2000) pp.114-5

Organising Committee, as well as to the Olympic movement.⁶²³ This by-product of an idealised, pragmatic approach pervades the Olympic movement on many levels. Furthermore the Olympic Charter clearly states that no advertising or commercial message must be present in Olympic venues.⁶²⁴ However, realistically the Olympic games will never be separated from the commercial images that adorn the surrounding Olympic zone.⁶²⁵ The association with the commercial image is long established.

The careful selection of commercial partners, and the terms of their association and involvement, provide examples of the official control (via the statutes of the Olympic Charter) of the practical image of the Olympic Games. The protection of the rights, symbols and ceremonies associated with the festival is another example of the level of official control exerted in the presentation of the Olympic image. Regarding the practicalities of projecting an image, the specific form of internal organisational interaction, as well as the level of control over the systems of delivery, are both crucial elements. Moreover, it is significant that the role of the media in the interaction between business interests and the Olympic movement can be viewed as that of a fixer and facilitator. When the majority of those who watch the Olympic Games do so on television, the importance of the medium is further highlighted. Invariably the televised action is interspersed with idealised athletic images designed to promote and sell a variety of consumable products. Such dynamics and inherent associations have brought great difficulties as well as opportunities for the Olympic movement. It is noteworthy that the production of an Olympic broadcast no longer clearly differentiates between the actual Olympic events and promotional or sponsorship and marketing initiatives which include idealised athletic images.

The official desire to remain above issues of financing when selecting an Olympic host is stated as an organisational goal, even if the actual situation in recent years seems

⁶²³ http://www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews265_e.html This Week's Olympic News No.265, 29/5/97

⁶²⁴ IOC, *The Olympic Charter* (Lausanne 1992) pp.92-5

⁶²⁵ It is evident from watching media coverage of an Olympic festival that even the most perfectly organised Games will experience some kind of public relations difficulty or pressure from commercial interests. The nature of the media spotlight, and the relative size of the production within the Olympic city almost ensures that this is a certainty.

somewhat different. The IOC has partly sought to dissuade self-serving or unsuitable bids from being considered as potential Olympic hosts, via the introduction of a bid evaluation commission. The commission's remit is to consider the validity of potential bids, and the suitability of potential hosts for the Olympic Games, prior to them making the voting rounds within the full IOC Session.⁶²⁶ This has undoubtedly led to further control and regulation of the bidding process, by the introduction of another level of bureaucracy. By establishing this pre-bid process, the IOC seeks to identify unfeasible or somehow undesirable bids early on, therefore leaving a short-list of four or five 'acceptable' bids for consideration by the full IOC membership. The IOC and other Olympic organisations argue that the introduction of a bid evaluation commission prior to the main IOC Session has been necessary as a reaction to the significant increase in demand from cities to apply to host the Olympic Games.⁶²⁷ Indeed, there is clear evidence to suggest that this increase in demand from cities is likely to continue. However, as the bidding process has developed, the cost of applying for the right to host the Olympic Games has also increased significantly. In fact, it is estimated that even a tentative bid for the Summer Olympic Games can now cost in the region of \$20m.⁶²⁸ Obviously there are few second or third world nations which could or would spend this amount on launching an Olympic bid. Subsequently, this will prohibit some poorer nations and their representative cities from even considering the tabling of an Olympic bid.

(ii) Official Accountability.

Few observers and reporters would normally openly risk criticising Olympic procedures too much. Such action would usually result in them being denied future accreditation by the Olympic movement. Interestingly, from a realist's point of view, infallibility is not a trait that we associate with governmental systems in general, although clearly accountability is. While we cannot therefore expect Olympic organisations to be infallible, we should expect them to be accountable. The recent inclusion of journalist

⁶²⁶ IOC, Rule 37.6 (related to the evaluation commission) in. The Olympic Charter (Lausanne 1995) p.58 This has proved to be an important stage within the selection process especially in the light of recent corruption scandals.

⁶²⁷ http://www.cnnsi.com/olympics/news/1999/09/02/ioc_reform 'Reform panel recommends plan for visiting bid cities'. Associated Press 2/9/1999

and vociferous IOC critic Andrew Jennings on the US Senate Committee hearings into the background to Salt Lake City's successful bid for the 2002 Winter Olympics is a significant step towards greater openness and accountability. Nowadays, many influential individuals and official committees are intent on seeking out and receiving both official and unofficial versions of events. This suggests that further revelations are likely. This seems to be a positive development in terms of the slow process of convergence between the image and the reality. Ultimately the outrage felt following the Salt Lake City debacle within the media petered out on the back of the official, yet half-hearted, attempts at reform and effective accountability. Despite the organisation establishing various commissions of enquiry, long-term IOC critic Andrew Jennings remains unconvinced of the desire or the ability of the IOC and the Olympic movement to be serious about change at an organisational level.⁶²⁹ The inclusion of such standpoints can only be a positive move forward in the slow process of transforming the wider organisation and addressing issues related to its accountability.

Recent scandals have only just hinted at the problems inherent in an organisation that has few, if any, effective checks and balances. Indeed, the self-perpetuating nature of the Olympic movement also raises immediate concerns over organisational accountability. (The fact that President Samaranch chaired the emergency committee set up to investigate corruption, when it was alleged that he himself had accepted excessive gifts from bid cities, illustrates the conflicts of interest apparent within the Olympic movement.) Whilst clearly the movement and its structure need to embrace any opportunity to accept and incorporate change, the Olympic movement still requires a degree of organisational stability for this process to be effective. Even to be seen to be doing the right thing will be insufficient to solve the internal culture that nurtured the conditions whereby such corruption was able to flourish. Accountability is often applied to the Olympic authorities as a result of their more general operations rather than as a deliberate organisational process. An example of this is illustrated by the concessions granted to the North American television companies regarding the starting times of

⁶²⁸ Burroughs, A., in Cashman, R. and Hughes, A. (Eds) Staging the Games: The Games and its Impact (Sydney 1999) p.48

⁶²⁹ Interview with A.Jennings, London (16/8/2000)

specific sporting events. As they had paid so much for the privilege to broadcast the Games, they were always going to push for coverage to start at the most beneficial time of day for obtaining and holding a large audience in their territories. Indirect accountability via the exertion of financial pressure can be very effective. It should be remembered that in this case the actual agenda of those providing certain checks and balances are not necessarily in the long-term interests of the Olympic authorities.

Due to the dynamics of the bidding process, there are a number of instances when factors outside the immediate control of the IOC affect the way in which the voting within the bidding process works. This is clearly illustrated by the experience of Sydney's successful bid for the 2000 Olympics, and how it was favourably affected by the staging of the GAISF conference in the city in October 1991.⁶³⁰ The decision to hold the GAISF conference in Sydney had been taken almost ten years earlier, long before the city had even declared an interest in becoming an Olympic host. This meant that certain key ISF presidents, who were also IOC members, visited Sydney twice.⁶³¹ The Sydney bid organisers were therefore given an additional opportunity to lobby these IOC members. Despite the Sydney organising committee having taken advantage of this opportunity, the practice of IOC members visiting a particular city more than once during a round of bidding for the Games is clearly prohibited by the IOC regulations. These regulations and codes of practice specifically relate to the behaviour and conduct of IOC members throughout the lobbying and voting procedures associated with the bidding process itself.⁶³² Although regulations and codes of conduct have recently been tightened further, it remains to be seen whether these will be far-reaching and effective enough. By now turning to the reasons why cities bid for the Olympic Games, a more complete picture of the whole process emerges.

⁶³⁰ McGeoch, R. and Korporaal, G. The Bid p.93

⁶³¹ Ibid pp.94-5 The members were to visit Sydney for the occasion of the GAISF conference, and then they later returned on official bid business.

(iii) Why cities bid for the Olympic Games.

Undoubtedly, the widest variety of motives and desires influence whether a particular city will consider the possibility of an Olympic bid. Apart from the basic organisational factors needing close consideration, there must also be a clear ability for the population to be comfortable with their nation's place and standing in the world. It is voters from the rest of the world that host cities have to lobby for votes. Indeed, the fact, that the eyes of the world will focus upon the host city and nation for a few weeks of Olympic competition is the common motivational thread for so many Olympic bids. The international image of the city itself can be a key determining factor when IOC members come together to vote for the next Olympic site. While cities can in some instances benefit in the long term from hosting an Olympic Games, what is just as important are the experiences of the cities who table the majority of bids and yet are unsuccessful.

The experience of South American and African cities that have tabled unsuccessful bids for the right to stage the games immediately lays the Olympic movement open to charges of being somewhat less than universal. This shortcoming occurs despite the universal aspects of the Olympic movement still being promoted by the IOC, as one of the wider organisation's central and most important tenets. The experiences of Olympic bids tabled by the Argentinian capital, Buenos Aires, provides an interesting case in point.⁶³² To say that the Olympic movement is unaware of the problem would be a mistake, and yet there have been very few constructive attempts at changing the process until once more external pressures become too great to ignore any longer.

Realistically, the chances of Istanbul or Tashkent (as initial bidding cities for the 2000 Olympic Games) being chosen to host the Olympic Games were always going to be slim. They would simply be unable to provide the required global stage, standard of

⁶³² <http://www.olympic.org/ioc/e/news/pressreleases> 'IOC 2000 Working Group finalizes recommendations on the role of IOC' IOC 31/8/1999

⁶³³ Valenzuela, R. 'The First pan American Games: Buenos Aires to be hosts to the athletes of the continent', Buenos Aires Herald 25/2/1951 Box 256, Headlines and what's behind them in, ABC at U of I It should be noted that the city has bid for the Olympic Games on three occasions between 1936 and 1968, in every case unsuccessfully

infrastructure, as well as security considerations and commercial opportunities.⁶³⁴ This is even clearer when the detailed nature of the criteria employed by the Olympic movement for the final selection process is included. These were extensively covered in Chapter 6, with the conclusion that the physical size of the Olympic Games nowadays precludes all but those developed and economically powerful nations with sufficiently sized and desirably situated cities from hosting the Games.

It may seem obvious that almost without exception, every city embarking on the process of bidding for the Olympic Games intends to be successful. How each city measures that success may vary dramatically. The increasing interest from cities to act as host is partially due to the huge money-spinning phenomenon that the Olympic Games have now become. In fact, the undertaking of the bidding process itself may also help nations and cities to attract other major sporting events in the future, even if the Olympic bid is unsuccessful. Other events provide a stepping stone for both athletes and cities as they gear up for the Olympic Games. This was the case with Manchester, England. After having lost out on bidding for the 1996, 2000 and 2004 Olympic Games, the city will host the Commonwealth Games in 2002. Such instances indicate how occasionally an ISF or a regional sports association can step in to lessen the blow to those cities that are overlooked when determining who should host future Olympic Games. Success at staging other similarly-sized, multi-sports events can in turn be useful for future Olympic bids as it demonstrates competence and fulfils the specific criteria related to previous organisational experience.⁶³⁵ Notably, the list of multi-sport events that are globally significant over the four-year period of an Olympiad has grown steadily since the early 1980s. Now continental and regional Championships exist alongside large single-sport events such as the championships of individual ISFs, all of which bolster the sporting calendar throughout the period of an Olympiad.⁶³⁶

⁶³⁴ De Lange, P. The Games Cities play p.27

⁶³⁵ The inclusion of the national record in the hosting of internationally significant events (especially multi-sports events) is taken into account within the information required to be supplied by a candidate city within the bidding process. IOC, Information for cities that desire to stage the Olympic Games (Lausanne 1992) pp.5-6

⁶³⁶ Numbers of single and multi-sports events have risen dramatically, with almost every week of the year championships and events taking place for a whole range of sports from skiing in Winter to athletics in Summer.

It is worth remembering that since the early 1980s the Olympic movement as an organisation has been wealthy enough to assist poorer countries in staging the Olympic Games. The fact that they have not so far considered such action has been rationalised by the IOC in that it is more important to secure the future of the Olympic Games. By not investing as heavily in the international and universal claims of the organisation, the IOC and the Olympic movement have signalled their particular policy agenda. They see the financial health of the organisation as their most important goal before embarking upon any widespread Olympic philanthropy at an international level. This is an interesting aspect of the image of the organisation, and one that must be carefully managed within the context of the global image of the Olympic philosophy.

(iv) Salt Lake City: A case study

Some of the problems associated with the Salt Lake City bid for 2002 were directly related to the issue of multiple visits to bidding cities by IOC members. While this may signify a problem at the personal level of Olympic organisation, namely individual voting behaviour, the actual pressures run far deeper, affecting the wider, more fundamental Olympic structures and the dynamics of Olympic operations. These allegations proved as traumatic as any yet experienced by the Olympic movement and were perhaps even more damaging than the diplomatic and political boycotts of the 1980s. Indeed, the integrity of the image of the Olympic movement came under its harshest scrutiny ever. The restriction upon presentations by bidding cities, and visits by IOC members to those cities, stemmed from the late 1970s and early 1980s. Throughout this period, gifts and a variety of inducements were allegedly presented to certain IOC members in the hope of receiving support from that particular member in the final IOC vote.⁶³⁷ Also noteworthy is the following observation that ‘there is an embarrassing source of misunderstanding concerning gifts. The line between a gift and a bribe can be thin and affected by cultural norms and customs in different countries.’⁶³⁸

⁶³⁷ <http://www.sportsweb.com/1999/01/24/olympics-bidding.htm> ‘IOC to push through bidding reform’ Reuters Sportsweb 24 1/1999.

⁶³⁸ Lord Killanin, *My Olympic Years* p.19

Marc Hodler is a senior IOC member in Switzerland who was appointed as Chairman of the co-ordination commission for the Winter Olympic Games of 2002 scheduled for Salt Lake City.⁶³⁹ The information that he came across in the course of his duties and his subsequent release of the information to the press initiated the Olympic vote-buying scandal that blew up in mid-December 1998. This scandal resulted in a series of resignations and subsequently almost one third of the IOC members were implicated in some form of improper practice.⁶⁴⁰ However, only a fraction of that number had official sanctions taken against them. Such improper practices were usually related to those who sought to abuse their position in order to secure personal favours or financial advancement. Regulations and definite measures were therefore sought by the IOC from their Ethics and Ad-hoc commissions (established in the wake of the Salt Lake City scandal), so that the Executive Board was able to distance itself from any associated charges of corruption or sharp practice.

The evidence exposed and made public by Marc Hodler to the media in 1998 stirred a torrent of articles and reports decrying the loss of Olympic idealism.⁶⁴¹ It was clear to the IOC leadership that something had to be done to halt such revelations influencing the organisational image, whilst at the same time continuing to appear to streamline organisational procedures. The establishment of official commissions of inquiry was expected to serve this purpose. Officially, it has long been argued within the Olympic movement regarding the bidding process that, '...the best and most complete bid should be accepted'.⁶⁴² Such official internalisation was supposed to further distance the Olympic organisations from any negative image related to the acceptance of inducements and the wider notion of endemic organisational corruption. Ultimately, it is the Olympic movement that decides where the next games are held. Crucially the personal motives and voting behaviour of the IOC members are never usually exposed to the most basic standards of scrutiny.

⁶³⁹ http://www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews259_e.html This Week's Olympic News No.259 11/4/97

⁶⁴⁰ Burroughs, A. in Cashman, R. and Hughes, A. (Eds) *Staging the Olympics* (Sydney 1999) p.44

⁶⁴¹ Hughes, R. 'Highest ideal is more important than internal politics' *The Times* 20/12/1999

⁶⁴² IOC, *The Olympic Charter* (Lausanne 1992) p.11

This self-regulatory approach works only when no firm evidence to the contrary exists. If evidence of wrongdoing subsequently comes to light it is not only the individual member's image that is tarnished. The whole ethical framework is cast into doubt. Importantly, the precarious nature of this approach rules out taking any concrete moves towards the increasingly pressing requirement for greater organisational accountability. In the aftermath of the news of the Salt Lake City scandal breaking, almost everyone associated with the Olympic movement sought initially to condemn the actions of certain IOC members, while desperately seeking to show a commitment to take decisive action at an organisational level. In fact, a matter of days after the scandal came to light, IOC President Samaranch placed further restrictions on IOC members paying visits to candidate cities. 'I can tell you that the trips of IOC members, to candidate cities, these are terminated.'⁶⁴³ However, Dick Pound, Canadian IOC Vice-President, sought to urge some caution: 'The standard of conduct is extremely serious but has to be put in perspective.'⁶⁴⁴

Despite assurances from official channels, and attempts to play down the extent and seriousness of the scandal, a number of cities who had unsuccessfully bid for the Games from the mid-1980s onwards became involved in the wider investigation. Some of these cities came under suspicion of being involved in similar sharp practice and corruption in the past.⁶⁴⁵ Indeed, the conduct of Amsterdam's organising committee in their unsuccessful bid to stage the 1992 Olympics came under scrutiny,⁶⁴⁶ as did the activities of the successful Nagano bid team for the Winter Games of 1998.⁶⁴⁷ Other cities sought some kind of recompense for the money that they had spent in the pursuit of the right to stage the Olympic Games. Notably, the stance taken by Quebec City, Canada, was significant as they looked into the possibility of suing the IOC in order to recover some of the C\$12m cost of their failed bid for the 2002 Winter Games, arguing that the

⁶⁴³ http://cnnsi.com/olympics/news/1998/12/21/travel_ban/ 'Samaranch bans trips by IOC members, sets special January 23 meeting' Associated Press 21/12/98

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ Burroughs, A. in, Cashman, R. and Hughes, A. (Eds) Staging the Olympics p.31

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid p.33

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid p.36

bidding process was inherently unfair.⁶⁴⁸ Rene Paquet, head of Quebec City's bid team, stated that:

We are considering suing because we have been involved in a process where the rules of the law may not have been followed by a dishonest candidate. We are looking at a substantial financial reimbursement.⁶⁴⁹

In response to the claim for compensation, the IOC President stated that: 'The executive committee of the IOC has decided not to accept the compensation request formulated by Quebec City.'⁶⁵⁰ The finality of such official comment projects an image of an organisation with little need to placate disgruntled bidders, as the evidence suggests that the steady flow of interested cities will continue. Indeed, the seriousness of the whole situation was further illustrated by the unusual step of a vote of confidence in President Samaranch being taken.⁶⁵¹ The subsequent confidence expressed in the President's ability seemed to stem from his determination to work tirelessly at establishing better working practices for the organisation. A change of leadership at that stage would not necessarily improve the situation or the ability of the Olympic organisations to deal with operational and structural difficulties. However, the recognition of the full implications of this scandal is only the first part of any solution at an organisational level. The internal structural nature of the problem may yet be significant for the organisational authorities at all levels of the Olympic movement.

Such instances and practices as were clearly involved in the bidding for the Olympic Games since the early 1990s illustrate the fact that there are two distinct phases in the bidding process for the Olympic Games. After a city's bid committee has satisfactorily fulfilled the selection criteria, submitting all their proposals and having been accepted by the bid evaluation commission, the important process of lobbying IOC members begins in earnest. As a result of the potential for profit in staging the Games, the competition to win a bid has become so intense that in many cases candidate cities have

⁶⁴⁸ <http://www.sportsweb.com/news/OLY/OLY-nN11503442.19-00-04.html> 'Quebec City may sue over failed Olympics bid' *Reuters Sportsweb* 11/1/99

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁰ <http://www.sportsweb.com/1999/03/23/olympics-quebec.htm> 'IOC refuses to compensate Quebec City' *Reuters Sportsweb* 23/3/1999

laid themselves open to requests for gifts and inducements from less scrupulous IOC members.

Eventually, after the dust had settled on the investigations into improper practice at Salt Lake City and the IOC-established commissions had reported on their findings, there was a certain sense that the whole story had not been told.⁶⁵² Sixteen IOC members were directly implicated in some form of sharp practice involving the 2002 Winter Games, yet in the end there were only thirteen expulsions and resignations.⁶⁵³ In fact, the IOC 2000 Reform Commission proposed radical change for the organisation. Among other recommendations yet to be implemented, they suggest that more athletes should be members of the IOC, that age and term-in-office limits should be introduced, while also stressing the importance of establishing rigorous procedures for the screening of future members.⁶⁵⁴ The emphasis of the commission can be clearly identified from the words of Henry Kissinger, a commission member:

We have made considerable progress towards transparency, rotation in office and broad representation from all interested sports organisations, especially from active athletes.⁶⁵⁵

Although well received in public such suggestions are only slowly being considered in official channels. To say that this episode - related to Salt Lake City's bid for 2002 Winter Olympic Games - has rocked the Olympic movement to its very foundations is no exaggeration. In fact, after having enjoyed a definite improvement in its fortunes - following the well-documented successes at Los Angeles in 1984 - the Olympic authorities had accepted change and progress with little consideration of the consequences and how these might impact upon the future image of the Olympic Games. Again it is a case of the IOC and the Olympic movement being reactive to pressures after

⁶⁵¹ <http://www.sportsweb.com/news/SPO/SPO-nLA55378.html> 'Samaranch wins confidence vote' Reuters Sportsweb 17/3/1999

⁶⁵² The IOC Commissions that were established in the post-Salt Lake City era have failed to uncover much new evidence that would have indicated the full extent of the problem.

⁶⁵³ <http://www.sportsweb.com/news/OLY/OLY-nN12140872.09-06-59.html> 'IOC said to press up to 12 members to quit' Reuters Sportsweb 12/1/99

⁶⁵⁴ <http://www.olympic.org/ioc/e/news/pressreleases/> 'IOC 2000 Working Group finalizes recommendations on the role of the IOC' IOC 31/8/1999

⁶⁵⁵ <http://www.sportsweb.com/news/OLY/OLY-n2578988.20-05-50.html> 'Reform group proposes more athletes on the IOC' Reuters Sportsweb 15/7/1999

the fact. Such was the fallout from the scandal that the Swiss parliament examined the exemption from direct government taxation accorded to the IOC at their Lausanne headquarters. This concession was estimated to be worth almost \$1.5m per annum.⁶⁵⁶ Indeed, the Olympic voting scandal was reported as having shocked many Swiss parliamentary deputies. In response, IOC President Samaranch stated the position of the IOC in that:

We take this opportunity to reassert the firm resolve of the IOC not to tolerate any irregularity in its ranks, nor any besmirching of its image...of sport in general or of the Olympic Movement.⁶⁵⁷

While there were undoubtedly problems related to many operational aspects for the Olympic movement brought to light as a result of the scandal surrounding the 2002 Winter Olympics, the real financial difficulties might yet be felt by Salt Lake City itself. Indeed, by August 1999, SLOOC still needed approximately \$187m in order to reach its estimated operating budget of \$1.34bn, and each time there is even a tenuous reference to the scandal, ongoing fund-raising efforts become increasingly difficult.⁶⁵⁸ Is this likely to be the first Olympic city in years to fail to benefit financially from being an Olympic host? If so, will this tarnish the image of the Games for future potential hosts? In general terms, the popularity of the event seems to be on the rise, especially after the relative successes at Sydney. It seems likely that the image of the Olympic movement (via the philosophical support structure of the theory of Olympism) remains intact, if a little sullied.

Interestingly, in a move designed to dilute the significance and role of Salt Lake City, numerous documents have come to light suggesting that a culture of granting patronage and accepting favours was nothing new. Some argue that the problem had its roots in the period from the 1970s onwards when the membership of the IOC itself was expanded. In the words of Nikos Filaretos, the IOC member for Greece and Dean of the

⁶⁵⁶ <http://www.sportsweb.com/1999/01/21/olympics-tax.htm> 'IOC hopes corruption scandal won't cost money in tax' *Reuters Sportsweb* 21/1/1999

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid Notably the threat was not carried out and no further action was taken against the IOC.

⁶⁵⁸ http://www.cnn.com/olympics/news/1999/08/06/olympic_roundup/ap 'U.S. Immigration looking at IOC member's son' *Associated Press* 6/8/1999

IOA, ‘...we recruited too many of the wrong type of person for the job.’⁶⁵⁹ The implications of such episodes for the Olympic Games bidding process and the practice of organisationally determining the image, are becoming clear. Despite the subsequent openness and attempts at establishing procedural accountability, this scandal is one of the most damaging in the history of the organisation. IOC vice-president and Canadian lawyer Dick Pound was given the remit of reviewing the background to the Salt Lake City 2002 bid. As he began his review process it became clear that unsubstantiated allegations and related unethical practices within the bidding process since the early 1980s also required consideration.

Given the internal pressures within the IOC brought about by the commercialising of the Olympics, the fundamental error on the part of the Olympic movement was to continue to promote a desirable and untarnished public image. The difference between the image and the reality now serves only to amplify the perceived severity of any such improprieties that have occurred. The image previously promoted by the Olympic movement was of an organisation with attainable, yet worthy and valuable goals. In reality, the amount of accountability and consultation involved suggests that the practice was very different. Once the surface gloss is removed, a tarnished image lies exposed. Bidding process corruption is one of a number of issues that are sufficiently important to seriously challenge the IOC’s future attempts to exert and retain control over the Olympic movement. The precarious nature of the ethical basis of the whole Olympic phenomenon will undoubtedly affect this.

In fact, there is a myriad of diverse and complex factors that affect the practicalities of the voting within the IOC for any successful, or unsuccessful, bid. How then do such practices that do exist, sit with the idealised, international aspects and tenets promoted by the Olympic movement which are central to the Olympic philosophy of Olympism? What is the nature of the compromise between the ideal and the practical? Is there much evidence of the adherence to Olympism or the values associated with it by

⁶⁵⁹ Filaretos, N. Address to the 7th IOA postgraduate seminar series Olympia, Greece (June 1999) (Unpublished)

bidding cities? Have enough risks been taken to ensure that the organisation benefits from all the opportunities open to it? The practicalities of the bidding process illustrate how the organisational aspects and requirements of the wider Olympic movement are very different, whether applied to the media, the host nation or the city-site. How the reality of this interaction affects the image as supported by Olympism is crucial, especially regarding any marketing initiatives that are being employed.

(v) Image and the marketing of the Olympic movement

It can be argued that the Olympic movement has squirmed under the glare of accountability recently provided by the media, especially when coupled with the associated longer-term increase in the immediacy of its news gathering and delivery operations. This has not affected the Olympic movement consistently throughout the past century. More specifically in the past thirty years, there has been a significant improvement in the practical aspects of the media operation and the importance of this for the Olympic image cannot be overestimated.

Another key element within any analysis of the bidding process and its internal procedures is the weight that is placed on each of the specific selection criteria by the different groups within the process. This is determined in many ways, according to each issue's relative importance both to the Olympic Games and to the Olympic movement as a whole. For example, in financially trying times it is likely that the criteria related to the maximisation of organisational revenues will be given increasing importance by the IOC members in any vote for the selection of the next Olympic host city. In most organisations, both the structure and the process have an informal as well as a formal dimension. This is important for an understanding of the nature of how procedures are established over time. It should also be noted that:

...there are demonstrable benefits in confusion and uncertainty which give managers room to manoeuvre. The dynamics of chaos can be used either to personal or organisational advantage, or both in different situations. Thus attempts at clarity and order and the establishment of clearly drawn boundaries may be covertly resisted from various positions within the structure.⁶⁶⁰

The original emphasis of this quotation was not the Olympic movement or its operation, yet it seems extremely pertinent to this particular analysis regarding the creation of, and control over, the official image. As has been illustrated in earlier chapters, political matters have clearly affected the character of previous Olympic gatherings. This is something of which the IOC is well aware and they therefore indicate,

Invitations must state that no political demonstrations will be held in the stadium or other sports grounds, nor in the Olympic village, during the Games, and that it is not the intention to use the Games for any purpose other than for the advancement of the Olympic movement.⁶⁶¹

While politics has obviously affected the Olympic Games, the growth and widespread influence of commercial factors have presented a more insidious challenge to the future purity and character of the festival. This has occurred at a point when the organisational resources were directed at placating the factions associated with Cold War tensions. There is an interesting additional perspective related to the idealised official position regarding sport and politics. The claims of the Olympic Movement towards its efforts at wider international development is elaborated upon by President Samaranch in the following remark, ‘We are the only international organisation, in sport or any other area, which has within it the NOCs of both China and Chinese Taipei.’⁶⁶² By definition, surely the IOC and the ANOC are the only organisations anywhere with NOCs as constituent parts.

The experiences of the Olympic authorities and their reactions to developments within the bidding process, given their increasing control over the criteria for selection, have resulted in the Executive Board effectively being given more sway in terms of promoting their desired candidate city. An example of this is the Atlanta Olympics of 1996, a city that also happens to be the headquarters of the Coca-Cola company, a major, long-term, Olympic sponsor.⁶⁶³ As the IOC had recognised relatively early on, the huge commercial potential of the Olympic Games could enhance their revenue and profit-

⁶⁶⁰ Nicholson, T. in, Wright, S. (Ed) *The Anthropology of Organisations* p.75

⁶⁶¹ IOC, *Information for cities which desire to stage the Olympic Games* (Lausanne 1957) p.9

⁶⁶² http://www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews319_e.html This Week's Olympic News No.319, 5/6/1998

⁶⁶³ www.olympic.org/sponsors/ TOP Sponsors 27/9/1999

maximisation exercises.⁶⁶⁴ In a paper given at the IOA in 1999, D.Aikman of the IOC Marketing department stated that, 'It is a very different world related to sport nowadays than in Pierre de Coubertin's day.'⁶⁶⁵

He established that there is a long history of marketing, sponsorship and commercial associations at the Olympic Games and he suggested that the maximisation of commercial opportunities can benefit other areas of the Olympic operation. Before the relatively recent development of re-distributing revenues within the Olympic movement, many athletes had to fund their own training. Interestingly in terms of equality of competition at an Olympic Games, huge discrepancies exist between different nations and how they fund their elite athletes. The organisation, via Olympic Solidarity, can now be seen to be addressing the problem related to the inability of athletes from poorer countries to access facilities and therefore to participate.⁶⁶⁶

However, an example of how the organisation actually operates is highlighted by the exploitation of the Olympic movement by commercial interests. Somewhat paradoxically Aikman referred to this as the 'cost to the Olympic movement' of its commercial associations.⁶⁶⁷ When a product is associated with the Olympic Games it can provide a key cross-cultural point of reference. Invariably, from the point of view of the actual companies involved, it is a positive image with which an association is sought. In return for their investment, commercial interests receive an association with what he refers to as the 'halo effect'. Product differentiation is the most important aspect of this powerful but ultimately temporary relationship.⁶⁶⁸ After moving on to determine that financial revenues are key in the development of sport worldwide, Aikman estimated the revenues of the Olympic movement for the year 2000 to be \$3bn.⁶⁶⁹ However, he was

⁶⁶⁴ Over the last fifty years the media have had a key role upon the Olympic movement. The last twenty years has been characterised by business interests further influencing the dynamic of the relationship. As long as the profitability remains strong then the current system will continue to work. The alternative could be devastating. The importance of the Olympic image cannot therefore be underestimated.

⁶⁶⁵ Aikman, D. 'Olympic Marketing...' Conference Paper at the 10th International Seminar for Sports Journalists Olympia, Greece (June 1999) (Unpublished) p.4

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid p.5

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid p.8

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid p.7

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid pp.7-8

quick to re-iterate the formula whereby the International Olympic Committee retains only 7% of total revenues. It therefore follows that the other 93% is distributed within the rest of the Olympic movement, yet of this, 78% is passed on to Olympic Games Organising Committees.⁶⁷⁰ Of the remainder, approximately 5% of the total is passed to the ISFs who promote and develop sports at a grass roots level, with the other 10% being passed to the NOCs who then promote Olympism in their own territories and send athletes to the Olympic Games.

The record of Olympic Solidarity is an interesting example of how organisational revenues are managed. As was detailed by Aikman, the annual spend on its official Olympic development fund equates to \$30.25m per annum, or only 1% of revenues.⁶⁷¹ Interestingly, given the high profile accorded to Olympic Solidarity in official press releases, the fund spent approximately \$121m per quadrennium on opportunities for poorer NOCs.⁶⁷² While detailing these figures and the expansion of competitive athletic opportunities, he stressed that it was important to recognise the humanitarian and environmental considerations of both the Olympic Games and the Paralympic Games. However, he was clear that something had to be done, as any further growth of the Olympics brings more sports, sports events and therefore more athletes for host cities to accommodate.

In the context of this thesis, the Olympic movement must manage the Olympic Games and very carefully enhance the associated image, otherwise there is a danger that sponsors will not remain interested in involvement with the Olympic movement.⁶⁷³ As Aikman contends,

The IOC has not always lived up to its own fundamental ethical principles, and at the same time the IOC has not done a good job at communicating what it does on a daily basis. There is always a balance between spin-doctoring and providing information.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid p.9 (Therefore under this formula, SOCOG, 2000 received \$1.8bn and NAOG, 1998 received \$700m.)

⁶⁷¹ Ibid p.11

⁶⁷² Ibid p.14

⁶⁷³ Ibid pp.15-16

He finished with the thought that, 'the present crisis will not be over until the IOC changes its internal structures...this is a marathon not a 100m sprint.'⁶⁷⁵

(vi) Successes at Sydney 2000 and the present organisational image

The Sydney Olympic Games that have just recently concluded were a triumph both for the UK and for the Olympic movement. While Great Britain managed to win more medals than ever in living memory, the image and the presentation of this particular festival has created a warm glow around the Olympic authorities. The heady mix of huge and vociferous crowds, the superb athletic performances, and the seemingly round-the-clock coverage, created a specific spectacle that has been hailed by the media as the best Olympics ever.⁶⁷⁶ On the surface then, all is now rosy in the Olympic garden. However, from the perspectives so far established in this thesis, and specifically related to the process of organisational image-making, the actuality may be somewhat different.

It is true that the IOC's job of getting the message across to the others involved in creating an Olympic spectacle must have been effectively carried out, or more than the few peripheral problems encountered at Sydney would have become more widely known. This certainly was not the case. The process of image making and the related practice of information control were employed so effectively within Australia that little apparent evidence of such deliberate operations existed at all. The fact that SOCOG had involved the domestic media from very early on was a significant element in establishing a consensus or common focus.⁶⁷⁷ This situation is the ideal scenario for those who would seek to influence opinion and promote a particular agenda. The Games were organised effectively enough with no major political or diplomatic tensions beforehand. In such a climate the smooth image-making operation illustrated how effective and organised the information department had been. The role of most of the local media in the clamour to

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid p.18

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid p.19

⁶⁷⁶ In the UK, the effect of delayed coverage from the events as they had taken place, throughout the night, was to show a scrolling festival of sport that only television could bring. It would be physically impossible for all events to be covered in such a way via any other medium.

⁶⁷⁷ Interview with A.Jennings London (16/8/2000)

polish any lingering tarnish from the image of the Olympic authorities cannot be underestimated.

Furthermore, the focus on the fight against drug use at the Games was seen organisationally as the most pressing issue of concern. The desire to place the fight against drug abuse at the heart of the IOC's organisational strategy as evident at Sydney had a two-fold effect. Firstly, it deflected criticism that was still being aimed directly at the IOC and the Olympic movement following the vote-buying scandal associated with the 2002 winter Olympic bidding process, won by Salt Lake City. However, more importantly, it also allowed the Olympic movement to be seen to be reaffirming its commitment to the promotion of fair-play and to its wider organisational aim of portraying the Olympic Games in a positive light. While athletes may have been innocent of the spirit of a particular offence, the IOC appeals panel tended to uphold any infraction. The need to present a united and strong organisational front was greater than the need to be seen to be acting sympathetically, according to the reality of each individual case.⁶⁷⁸

Such initiatives, as with everything within the Olympic arena, do not exist in isolation from the wider operation of the movement. Any hasty judgements or pronouncements in such matters could conceivably create a time bomb of litigation for the Olympic movement. Future advances in drug-testing technology may help to clear the situation up. Nevertheless, the role of established scientific procedures and contradictory new research is likely to lead to disputes and claims for compensation by affected athletes. It is little coincidence given the image management emphasis of this thesis that this attempt to finally rid the Olympics of the threat of drug use is an official initiative.⁶⁷⁹ Such moves relate via press releases to the official philosophy of Olympism, and how the

⁶⁷⁸ The Rumanian female gymnast, Raducan, was stripped of a gold medal after having a banned substance detected in a doping sample. This was definitely harsh given that it had been an error on the part of the team doctor to administer that particular cold cure, and that it was a minor infraction anyway. It was clear that no intent to cheat was there and therefore any advantage would have been negligible. The official decision was upheld.

⁶⁷⁹ http://www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews348_e.html Olympic Highlights No.348, 30/12/98 The instituting of the World Anti-Drugs Agency (WADA) with the full support of the IOC and the majority of ISFs is further evidence of growing importance of this issue for the image of the Olympic Games.

authorities continually seek to project an image of themselves as the guardians of all that is right and ethical in sport. It is unlikely that the drug issue will simply be legislated away as it has a dynamic element that precludes any catch-all policy moves from being anything more than temporary measures.⁶⁸⁰

Conclusion

The teachings espoused within Olympism remain highly abstract and fluid and as such they require minimal direct management. Nevertheless, the need for a whole organisational reappraisal is long overdue. Such revelations as highlighted during the investigation into Salt Lake City's bid for the Winter Games of 2002 have clearly tarnished the image of the Olympic movement. The general perception now is that a particular bid dynamic is reliant upon the existence of a complicated system of organisational patronage and vote-buying. An image such as this is clearly not that which is officially promoted or desired by the Olympic authorities. The IOC's approach to dealing with the issues made public in the wake of the revelations of improper practice surrounding the Salt Lake City bid for 2002 has been interesting. Organisationally, it has simply been a case of attempting to legislate any problem away, whilst officially denying any overt impropriety. That said, official apologies regarding the conduct of IOC members have been forthcoming and where necessary certain individuals have been removed from office. Subsequently, as a result of this debacle, the ongoing centralised control of information, and the operational image of the Olympic movement, have had to be re-emphasised in order to be maintained. The establishment of an ad hoc commission by the IOC Executive Board in late 1998 to examine possible modifications to the bidding process,⁶⁸¹ served to project an image of swift and decisive official action. The exact role of the official commissions, beyond a cursory investigation into the allegations, is unclear. Perhaps their task was simply to deflect criticism from the main authorities by demonstrating the desire for and extent of official action. However, the commission's findings seem to show that the practices surrounding the Salt Lake City bid have been part of a wider process going as far back as twenty years. The extent of lobbying for the

⁶⁸⁰ Hopes are high within official circles that WADA actually carries out this role in an increasingly effective manner and that it concentrates upon long-term strategies.

⁶⁸¹ http://www.olympic.org/news/press/pr61_e.html 'Official Response of the IOC' IOC 15/12/1998

right to host the Olympic Games in the past, the practices employed and the individuals involved are unlikely ever to be fully verifiable.

While the early Olympic Games were sited within countries that were affiliated to the IOC, it is clear that as the Olympic family grew, there still remained a geographical, social and political bias within Olympic organisations. This can be illustrated by those cities that hosted the Olympics prior to the Second World War and created definite problems related to the management of the Olympic image. This was especially the case regarding the Olympic movement's claim to be truly universal in both outlook and practice. The idea that the IOC establishes a financial position for itself, whereby theoretically it could step in at a late stage and finance a particular Olympic Games (in the instance of a host city being unable to do so) is little more than a statistic to many Olympic observers. It would seem to be one of the few ways in which many of the poorer countries of the world would ever be likely to be able to afford to host a future Olympic festival. This is especially the case given the exponential growth of the festival itself since the 1960s, and the attendant spiralling costs of staging the Games that have accompanied such growth.

The tension between the image and the expectation is clear. The current policy of including more athletes and highly regarded international statesmen in the Olympic movement will not necessarily provide satisfactory solutions. Indeed, the goal of organisational transparency seems further away than ever. Perhaps our expectations of and pre-occupations with organised sport can be seen to be both unrealistic and slightly unhealthy. After all, it is sport that represents society in terms of the values existing at the level of social, national and international interaction. As a global society we get the global sports events, organisations and rituals that we are willing to accept and therefore deserve. What has been so different about the Olympic movement over the last century is its ability to provide an international image and focus beyond the sporting arena, while in fact the official rhetoric has always been far in advance of the practice. The experience of watching the Olympic Games can be the same for the audience across the globe, yet it will invariably differ greatly in that a particular national emphasis placed upon the

images being presented is determined by the factors that make up that particular nation's world-view. As the traditional image and role of the Olympic movement changes over time, a more effective and adaptive emphasis has to be introduced into the organisational structure.

The introduction of the structured bidding process with which we are familiar today has assisted the Olympic movement's attempts at greater control over the process. Paradoxically the growth in the physical size of the Games has also placed great strain on the ability of the Olympic authorities to control and manage the practicalities of the Olympic movement and therefore project and maintain a favourable image. Clearly the Olympic Games in the late 1980s and 1990s have been granted to that city which has been given the official endorsement of the Olympic authorities. While this statement may seem obvious, it also indicates the amount of influence that the IOC still has over the site of a particular Olympic Games. After all, it is the Olympic authorities that continue to attempt to determine the particular nature and emphasis of each Olympic gathering. Perhaps the control of official information output remains the most powerful weapon in the Olympic movement's attempts to secure its future successes. Whether the Olympic movement can develop a structure where future practice at the Olympic Games can be seen as athletically strong, ethically sound and yet commercially astute, still remains to be seen.

CONCLUSION.

The subject matter covered in the course of this thesis and the analytical perspectives employed – especially the reliance upon theoretical pluralism – have sought to establish whether there is a deliberate process of image and information-management that exists within present Olympic structures. The use of the relationship between the Olympic movement and the media, as well as the dynamics of the Olympic Games bidding process, as analytical points of reference, indicate the angle of approach that has been taken. This approach is original when juxtaposed with the dynamics and influences of the particular factors involved in the analysis undertaken. This is especially so in examining the relationship between the Olympic movement and the media in those multi-lectic terms. The interplay between political, social and cultural factors has therefore been of crucial importance. The specific agents of change and the roles played by those in power vary at different points in the chronology. However, the angle of approach and the interaction of the variables highlighted within the dynamic are unique in terms of dealing with the Olympic movement. This thesis therefore has applied a new approach (in the form of the specific inter-disciplinary nature of the piece) to what has too often been an under-analysed organisation in control of an over-analysed sporting event.

How the chapters have shaped the thesis.

By now revisiting the framework from the introduction that established the parameters for the analysis, it is possible to reappraise some of the definitions and assumptions made in light of the information gathered. Chapter 1 set out to establish how the process of re-inventing Olympic tradition took place. This historical analysis set up a framework for a broader analysis of the organisation and its image, especially related to Olympism. Chapter 2 continued the broadly historical theme but examined more closely the role played by the Olympic philosophy of Olympism in binding the Olympic movement together and also in setting the Olympic Games apart from other international multi-sport events. Chapter 3 considered more specifically the roles of the various IOC Presidents in shaping the organisational image. As well as detailing how they interacted personally with the media, it focused on how the Olympic movement and its image were presented differently during particular presidential terms of office. The Olympic image as

presented within the dominant media forms of the day was increasingly what mattered. This also served as a starting point for re-focusing the emphasis to examine in more detail the process of image construction and the media.

Chapter 4 took a step back from a direct analysis of the Olympic movement and established the background to propaganda, public relations and developments within media history especially in terms of how these affected Olympic organisational practices and structures. These perspectives were considered, primarily in terms of how they have been used within the operational reality of the Olympic movement. Chapter 5 was a more analytical piece concerned with the specifics of the relationship between the media and the Olympic movement. It became clear that both symbiotic and parasitic aspects exist within the relationship at different times and to varying degrees, for both parties. It should be noted that business interests and the media will want to continue to identify with the Olympic ideals only as long as the integrity of those ideals, is maintained and promoted. The dynamic and developing relationship detailed in this Chapter extends to the increasingly complex requirements of the expanding media at an Olympic Games.

Chapter 6 is highly significant in that it compared the specific bidding criteria in 1954 and 1957 with that employed in 1985 when Barcelona won the right to host the 1992 Olympic Games. It illustrated how, as the organisation has grown and expanded, the bureaucracy involved in the bidding process and other Olympic operations has also increased. Simply put, there are various influential interest groups now who are affiliated to, or seek opportunities through, the Olympic movement. This means that the operational dynamic has become increasingly complex and confused throughout the past Olympic century. Chapter 7 examined how far removed the reality of the bidding process has become from its image, especially since the Los Angeles Games of 1984 related to the organisation of the event and the profits achieved. Following the example of such recent successful and profitable hosts the number of bidding cities has risen dramatically. Chapter 8 brought together the disparate strands of the project by re-examining the partially neglected position of Olympism and whether the future holds the possibility of a new dynamism for the Olympic movement and its philosophy. Clearly from the

perspective of an analysis of image-making, it is possible to view the broader picture. By focusing on the all-pervasive components that can affect an image, this facilitated the broad interdisciplinary nature of the thesis itself.

Are there any image-makers to behold?

Clearly the Olympic organisations are guilty of reacting to situations that develop rather than attempting to set some kind of active policy agenda of their own. This remains an inherent weakness. However, this can be offset by the continued organisational adherence to and idealising of Olympism. The difficulty arises when a given organisation, such as the Olympic movement, requires external funding to achieve its goals. It should be remembered that the only real income generated by the Games is derived from the marketability of its image. The selling of the Olympic image and its symbols will continue via the media and sponsorship programmes. However, the question remains, at which point does saturation occur? Perhaps it is sufficient for the Olympic movement to continue shifting its organisational direction as necessity dictates, thereby inadvertently changing the point at which saturation occurs.

Branding relates to the establishment, promotion and maintenance of a particular differentiation of product by the owner of the rights to official symbols, logos and trademarks associated with that product. Brands have moved quickly from being names of products to badges of success, as a result of applied marketing. Such trends and practices seem to have special relevance for the Olympic context of the thesis, particularly related to the protection of Olympic tradition and the projection of the Olympic philosophy. Invariably, images related to branding are nurtured with great care as the image of the brand can directly affect the attainability of operational goals. Desirable brand interaction leads to consumer loyalty and retention, with organisations targeting customer needs while remaining differentiated from competing products or services. Notably almost all sports governing bodies now have recognisable logos and trademarks and are developing a discernible brand. The media acts as an extremely effective vehicle for transmitting the marketing message. In the context of this thesis the Olympic movement promotes its brand via the use and application of specific logos,

symbols and ceremonies, e.g. The Olympic rings, the Olympic anthems, the Athletes oath as well as the Opening and Closing Ceremonies of the Olympic Games. In order to be able to create the notion of a traditional and yet progressive organisational brand the Olympic movement has to protect all associated intellectual properties. It should be remembered that the Olympic brand is unique in that it incorporates the philosophy of Olympism which allows fine tuning to occur, thereby facilitating further expansion.⁶⁸²

The official use of the Olympic philosophy to bind together the disparate affiliates of the Olympic movement has been vital for preserving the health of the organisation and maintaining brand quality. At the same time, the influence of disparate historical and social changes upon the organisational structure is of crucial importance. It is clear that these agents of change are not always easily accommodated within the Olympic structure. Post-1984, the Olympic authorities and especially the IOC have seamlessly incorporated commercial interests alongside existing media considerations. The development of this structure has assisted the Olympic movement in promoting its achievements and indirectly in accomplishing its goals. The subsequent development of good practice – in the form of image-presentation and more proactive organisational public relations – at all levels of the Olympic movement, has assisted the Olympic governing bodies in their control over the specific character of the Olympic Games. The evidence presented in this thesis indicates that while such image-management elements have been incorporated into the operation of Olympic structures, the process cannot be seen as being exclusively deliberate, in the sense that change has usually been directly influenced by factors that exist, external to the immediate Olympic sphere. However, a cursory glance at official press releases indicates that a degree of deliberate image-management does exist. What is more significant is the fact that the Olympic organisations have increasingly embraced the opportunities that have presented themselves. In most cases this has been done while maintaining strict control over the image of the Games. The only certainty with the present structure is that no reforms happen quickly. Furthermore, the ability of the key

⁶⁸² Girginov, V. Parry, J. and Harris, J. Olympic Themes (CD-ROM) (Luton 2000) Theme 6: Olympic Marketing p.11

Olympic organisations to adequately control the development of the Olympic Games remains in some doubt.

Technological advances in communication and media over the last 60 years have clearly contributed to the transformation of sport into an important cultural indicator. It is the entertainment element that holds the key. Added value and the meaning ascribed by the audience to particular sporting events, precariously effect every aspect of the delivery and reception of an image. The Olympic Games provides, via the media, sport for mass consumption as entertainment. Yet it should be remembered amid all this development and growth that subtlety is the key to all attempts at image-management and spin-doctoring.⁶⁸³ Furthermore, it should be recognised that image-making is a human process that operates on a variety of levels especially within the context of international, national, regional and personal relations. Indeed, the role of individual member action within the process of image-management should not be discounted. All too often the decisions made by the full IOC Session are not always in the best long-term interest of the whole organisation. In many cases, the members group together for votes on key issues. The motivation behind such action can be very difficult to ascertain, although what can be said with certainty is that many key issues have the potential to affect individual members, their geographical or national motives, and how they themselves operate within present Olympic structures. The protection of each member's role within the organisation is of paramount importance for them personally. In many cases the organisation would have benefited from a broader and more objective evaluation of how each challenge or issue may affect the Olympic status quo.

The debacle of Salt Lake City shook the organisation to its ethical foundations. Lofty ideals mean little when levelled by the lustre of lucre. It is important to recognise how change can be effected within organisations in the aftermath of such disclosures. It is clear that the Olympic movement may have irreparably damaged its image of being an ethical organisation. In the modern era, however, this seems less important than the quality of the Olympic spectacle itself. What is beyond doubt is that as the financial

⁶⁸³ Greener, T. Public relations and Image-Making pp.13-14

stakes have risen, so the Olympic Games as an event are now as important as they have ever been for the future success of the wider Olympic movement. Clearly the difference between pragmatism and principle is a fundamental one especially when related to the process of information dissemination. Particularly apt at this point is the following quotation, regarding the danger to an organisation from the political manipulation of information.

The very real threat is that our ideal of a bold and deliberate government will be dashed by timid, self-interested policymakers who shy away from responsibility for their actions and delude themselves and their constituents with their own symbolic spectacle.⁶⁸⁴

While this may seem a harsh appraisal of the state of the Olympic policy-making bodies and the movement's attempts at organisational image-maintenance, it illustrates how there can be divergence between reality and practice. A good example of this is the centrality of the Olympic Truce to operational efforts at image-management. The established link between the Olympic movement and the United Nations related to the sanctity of the Olympic Truce,⁶⁸⁵ in reality is little more than an ideal. In this case the practice is far removed from the image as projected by the Olympic authorities via their efforts at information dissemination. The capability of the Olympic Truce to bring about concrete and lasting change is highly debatable. However, as a gesture towards demonstrating the organisation's desire for a peaceful world, it serves to perpetuate the hegemonic, humanist image of the Olympic movement.

It is via the bid process that the Olympic authorities carry out their most public organisational task. The reason that this is so important is that the chosen city will provide a backdrop for the Olympic Games spectacular and serve as a focus for the sporting world. It has subsequently been proved how difficult it can be for an organisation the size of the Olympic movement to control all aspects of information output and therefore coherently maintain a particular image. Image-making is a crucial element of managing a particular organisational position, influencing efforts towards

⁶⁸⁴ Maltese, J. *Spin Control* p.6

⁶⁸⁵ http://www.olympic.org/news/weekly/olynews302_e.html This Week's Olympic News No.302, 6/2/1998

achieving the desired operational development and growth. In the current climate the financial bottom line is all-important to both public and private organisations. Perhaps it is the anachronistic structure of the Olympic movement that has served to provide a comfortable distance between it and such concerns. At least that was the image before the Salt Lake City debacle.

The idea that whatever the Olympic authorities do is in the best interests of the wider movement, even when it is clear that this is not the case, does not help efforts towards building trust between those transmitting a message and those receiving it. This is a crucial element of efficient information transfer. However, the fact that there are so many variables involved in this process suggests that attempts by the Olympic authorities to directly influence opinion could never be as easily controlled and therefore as successful as other forms of public relations initiatives. Nevertheless, definite evidence suggests that the relevant Olympic organisations have at least attempted to shift the agenda, or re-focus the discussion, at certain points in the chronology. The central point of this thesis is that from the perspective of an analysis of image-making, it is possible to view the broader organisational picture. As images are all pervasive, the approach taken and the theories used have facilitated the inter-disciplinary focus of the thesis.

Questions still remain over the future of the Olympic Games and the unique position that the Olympic movement enjoys within the international fraternity of sport governing bodies. Are the Olympic Games and the Olympic movement capable of being both commercially strong and ethically sound in the long term? Why should this matter if the athletics and other events are of a particularly high standard? The ability and desire to manage the organisational image and that of the Games has now become a necessity for the Olympic authorities. Significant change will be necessary for the Olympic authorities to remain in control of the image of the Olympic Games, with Olympism as an important element within that. It is uncertain whether or not the future structure of international sport is capable of continuing to expand indefinitely, and to operate effectively, in a social and global climate where the Olympic movement attempts to remain true to its traditional, often anachronistic, lofty ideals.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: List Of IOC Presidents

1894 – 1896	Demetrius Vikelas (GRE)
1896 – 1925	Baron Pierre de Coubertin (FRA)
1925 – 1942	Comte Henri de Baillet-Latour (BEL)
1945 – 1952	J.Sigfried Edstrom (SWE)
1952 – 1972	Avery Brundage (USA)
1972 – 1980	Lord Killanin (IRE)
1980 – 2001	Juan Antonio Samaranch (SPA)
2001 –	Jacques Rogge (BEL)

See: www.olympic.org

Appendix II: List of IOC Congresses

1894 – Paris

1897 – Le Havre

1905 – Brussels

1906 – Paris

1913 – Lausanne

1914 – Paris

1921 – Lausanne

1925 – Prague

1930 – Berlin

1973 – Varna*

1981 – Baden-Baden

1994 – Paris

(* At Varna a number of joint commissions were set up in order to provide contact between the IOC and the NOCs. Structural tensions had marred efforts at that particular congress and threatened the whole viability of the organisational structure. Subsequently initiatives were introduced aimed at providing a more diverse and streamlined interaction between the main Olympic authorities. However, these initiatives also facilitated the gradual bureaucratisation of the Olympic authorities.)

See: www.olympic.org and Guttman A. – The Games Must Go On pp.182-3.

Appendix III: Olympic Bidding Cities since 1896.

<u>Host City</u>	<u>Other Bidders</u>
Athens 1896	
Paris 1900	
St.Louis 1904	
London 1908	
Stockholm 1912	
(Berlin 1916)	
Antwerp 1920	
Paris 1924	Barcelona
Amsterdam 1928	Havana, Lyon, Rome
Los Angeles 1932	
Berlin 1936	Barcelona, Buenos Aries
(Tokyo 1940)	
(London 1944)	Budapest, Lausanne, Athens, Helsinki
London 1948	
Helsinki 1952	Amsterdam, Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, Philadelphia
Melbourne 1956	Buenos Aries
Rome 1960	Tokyo
Tokyo 1964	Brussels, Detroit, Vienna
Mexico City 1968	Buenos Aries, Detroit, Lyon
Munich 1972	Madrid
Montreal 1976	Los Angeles, Moscow
Moscow 1980	Los Angeles
Los Angeles 1984	Teheran
Seoul 1988	Nagoya
Barcelona 1992	Amsterdam, Belgrade, Birmingham, Brisbane, Paris
Atlanta 1996	Athens, Belgrade, Manchester, Melbourne, Toronto
Sydney 2000	Beijing, Berlin, Brasilia, Istanbul, Manchester
Athens 2004	Buenos Aires, Cape Town, Rome, Stockholm*

(*Istanbul, St.Petersburg, Lille, Seville and San Juan eliminated in the first round of voting. This means that there were 10 initial bidders for this particular Olympic festival.) See: Olympic Review, Du Lange P. – The Games Cities Play p.27 also the official Olympic web-site at www.olympic.org

Appendix IV: US Network Payments for Olympic Television Rights.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Site</u>	<u>Network</u>	<u>Fee (\$m)</u>
1964	Tokyo	NBC	1.5
1968	Mexico City	ABC	4.5
1972	Munich	ABC	7.5
1976	Montreal	ABC	25.0
1980	Moscow	NBC	87.0
1984	Los Angeles	ABC	225.0
1988	Seoul	NBC	300.0
1992	Barcelona	NBC	401.0
1996	Atlanta	NBC	456.0
2000	Sydney	NBC	715.0
2004	Athens	NBC	793.0 *
2008	Beijing	NBC	894.0 *

From the figures above there is little doubt that the sums involved in broadcasting the Olympic games have grown at a phenomenal rate. Can such growth continue indefinitely? (* denotes already agreed provisional rights fees.)

See: Miller D. Olympic Revolution p.53, Rowe D. Sport, Culture and Media p.71, Guttman A. The Olympics pp.166-167 and De Moragas Spa M., Rivenburgh N. and Larson J. Television and the Olympics pp.18-23

Appendix V: Current TOP sponsors (TOP V) through to 2004

Coca-Cola,

Kodak,

McDonald's,

Panasonic,

Samsung,

Xerox,

Sports Illustrated,

UPS,

Visa,

IBM,

John Hancock Insurance Services.

See: 'Olympic Marketing Matters: The Olympic Marketing Newsletter', at www.olympic.org

Appendix VI: The Division of Olympic Revenues

(i) Television Rights revenue distribution.

Example: At Barcelona in 1992 the accrued television revenues totaled \$930m

Of the \$640m paid for United States television rights, the USOC receives 10%, or \$64m.

$(\$930\text{m} - \$64\text{m} = \$866\text{m})$

The relevant OOCs for upcoming Games then receive 20%, or \$173m, for technical costs.

$(\$866\text{m} - \$173\text{m} = \$693\text{m})$

The sum is then split in the ratio 2:1 between the OOCs and the IOC, with the OOCs receiving the higher amount.

$(\$693\text{m} \text{ becomes, } \$231\text{m (IOC) and } \$462\text{m (OOCs)})$

The \$231m received by the IOC is then divided equally between the IOC, the NOCs and the ISFs. The result is that the three main constituent bodies of the Olympic movement each received \$77m.

(ii) TOP revenue distribution.

50% - Allocated to the relevant OOCs (Summer / Winter split in ratio 2:1)

43% - Allocated to NOCs (The USOC usually receives 20% of this figure)*

7% - Allocated directly to the IOC.

(* The amount received by the NOCs take the form of a flat fee and a rate per participant.

The bigger NOCs also get a top up fee negotiated prior to the Olympic Games. The actual NOCs and sums involved have until recently, remained secret)

See: www.olympic.org and Hill C. in, Allison L. – The Changing Politics of Sport
pp.100-101

Appendix VII: Ownership of the Global Media.

<u>Company</u>	<u>Total Assets (\$m)</u>	<u>Total Revenue (\$m)</u>	<u>% stock of control group</u>
Advance Pub. (Newhouse)	2,500	2,200	90+
Capital Cities / ABC	5,191	4,124	20.7
CBS	3,370	4,754	20.6
Cox Communcations	1,111	743	36
Dow Jones & Co.	1,236	1,135	54
Gannett	3,365	2,801	1.9
General Electric (NBC)	34,591	36,725	0.5
Hearst	4,040	2,100	33
Knight-Ridder	1,947	1,911	18
McGraw-Hill	1,463	1,577	20
News Corp. (Murdoch)	8,460	3,822	49
New York Times	1,405	1,565	80
Reader's Digest	N/A	1,400	N/A
Scripps-Howard	N/A	1,062	N/A
Storer	1,242	537	8.4
Taft	1,257	500	4.8
Time Inc.	4,230	3,762	10.7
Times-Mirror	2,929	2,948	35
Triangle	N/A	730	90+
Tribune Co.	2,589	2,030	16.6
Turner Broadcasting	1,904	570	80
U.S. News & World Report	200	140	90+
Washington Post	1,145	1,215	50+
Westinghouse	8,482	10,731	0.5

Although these are primarily North American media companies, there is little doubt that it is the biggest and most diverse media market. The rules of that particular market are effectively pressing the media companies towards strictly market objectives. (Herman E. and Chomsky N. – Manufacturing Consent (New York 1988) pp.12-13)

Appendix VIII: Aristocrats, Athletes and Experts: The Backgrounds and Influences of the IOC Membership

It is important to remember that this list is produced because the backgrounds of those individuals who do become IOC members can be of crucial importance to understanding the particular motives involved where internal voting behaviour is concerned. This idea that the motives of the individuals can affect the motives and values of the whole organisation is not a new idea. However, it is clear that this becomes increasingly significant when the bidding process comes around.

The rules and regulations for the behaviour of IOC members during the period known as the bidding process, (from the bid documents being presented to the IOC, until the award of the Olympic Games to a particular city) are clearly defined. However, after recent disclosures, there have been a number of allegations leveled at individuals within the IOC, which project an image of self-serving unaccountable administrators. Certainly, this does not seem to be so in the case of every IOC member's conduct. However, the allegations have recently been given a certain degree of credence by the scandal that was widely reported in the press recently. The problem was that the Salt Lake City Winter Olympic organising committee sent a letter detailing, the alleged inducements and improper payments to the IOC member from Cameroon, in exchange for him voting for the city in the bidding process. Instances such as these provide examples of information that is not so easily managed by the IOC. The members are diverse, a group who range from royalty and senior statesmen to generals and former Olympic sportsmen, although the representation of women is unsatisfactory. (It is noteworthy that the senior IOC member in Greece, Nikos Filaretos mentioned recently, when commenting upon the reasons for the current problems within the IOC: "A number of people it seems were unsuitable, who became the nominated member by a particular country.")

It is reasonable to assume that the majority of the members of this most exclusive of sporting clubs, are extremely good at what they do. There are some however, a distinct minority who see the position as something to be traded upon and utilised for maximum personal benefit. This is not to say that all these practices in some way detract from the ability of the IOC to function effectively. Indeed, it is this sidelining of the problem that has allowed it to go on for so long. As it has not been part of the practice of the majority of the members, it's crucial importance as an issue, has not been fully recognised. To his credit Samaranch was quick to react to the disclosure of the details of the scandal, by establishing a commission, chaired by himself to

examine the allegations and advise whether policy and practice are in need of change. An indication of the type of people who have traditionally become IOC members can be gleaned from the fact that IOC members were not paid until the 1970s. This therefore meant that the members of the IOC and others within the Olympic movement had to finance their Olympic activities from their own sources. This effectively precluded involvement in the organisation from anyone who was not very wealthy. The role of honorary members can be seen as almost purely ceremonial as few have any direct power, or are involved in voting for the direction of official policy.

There are clearly two groups within the IOC's internal dynamic. There are those who are in a position of power either by being senior within the IOC, President of a Federation of one of the main Olympic sports, or even a senior administrator. Then there are those who invariably serve on specific commissions set up by the IOC, but never reach the pinnacle of the organisation, in terms of power and influence. Clearly, there does not seem to be any determined regulations surrounding promotion within the IOC. In the case of the IOC member in S.Korea he has experienced a spectacular rise within the organisation from President of the Tae-Kwon Do Federation to the post of IOC Vice-President in a little over 15 years. Such patronage and the strategic positioning of individuals seen as important to the organisation, can be viewed as strikingly similar to the way in which the cabinet system works within the western parliamentary-democratic model. In both these cases the power is wielded by, the presidential or prime ministerial office-holder with the cabinet working autonomously within the structure of the wider organisation. This relatively unaccountable position of the IOC, is something which has provided ammunition for the media to charge the organisation with being closed and unco-operative. The fact that there are no forms of election to the organisation therefore precludes the threat of removal from office should an individual not perform satisfactorily in their particular role. This has hindered the effectiveness of both the IOC and the Olympic Movement in getting their message across. This is at the heart of the whole thesis. If the IOC and the wider Olympic Movement do not get their 'official' message across, then no amount of damage limitation will establish a clear direction for both the philosophy of Olympism and the Olympic Games themselves. The Olympic Movement must provide the necessary informational output to establish more effectively their particular message in a way that can affect both public opinion and perception, usually via the vehicle of the various international media forms.

The Old Guard. (1945 – 1975)

Grand Duke Jean of Luxembourg (LUX) A member of the IOC since 1946. The Patron of several sports federations within Luxembourg as an IOC member he has served on the Commission of Enquiry for the Winter Olympic Games (1958 – 1969). He has also served as Chairman of the Rules Reviewing Commission (1973 – 1976).

Giorgio de Stefani (ITA) A member of the IOC since 1951. The President of the Italian Lawn Tennis Association, as well as the Italian Davis Cup team. A senior member of the IOC, he has served on the following commissions: Executive Board (1964 - 1968), Olympic Aid (1962 – 1963) and IOA (1967 – 1990).

Alexandru Sipercu (ROM) A member of the IOC since 1955. A senior administrator within Rumanian sporting bodies and the wider Olympic movement, he has served as a member on the following IOC commissions: Olympic Aid (1962 – 1967), Co-ordination and Supervising Committee for IOC/NOC Relations (1968 – 1971), Amateurism and Eligibility (1965 – 1980), IOA (1967 – 1980), Publications Dept. (1974 – 1976), Juridical and Revision of the Charter (1982 – 1990), Executive Board (1979 – 1986), Vice-President (1982 – 86), and Chairman of the Council of the Olympic movement (1987 – 1998)

Syed Wajid Ali (PAK) A member of the IOC since 1959. He remains a senior sports administrator in Pakistan, including President of the NOC. He has several lucrative business interests within Pakistan. A member of the Executive Board (1966 – 1970), he has also been a member of the following IOC commissions: Co-ordination and Supervising Committee for IOC/NOC Relations (1967 – 1968) (Vice-president (1968 – 1971), Enlarged Commission for Press and Public relations (1968 – 1972), Information and Culture commission (1973 – 1974), Commission for inquiry for Rhodesia (1973-1975), Cultural commission (1980 – 1981) and the Finance commission (1983 –).

Ahmed E. Touny (EGY) A member of the IOC since 1960. He has significant experience administrating sports such as gymnastics and swimming within Egypt. His administrative involvement within the Olympic Movement can be listed as follows: Olympic Aid Commission (1961 – 1963), member of the Joint commission IV (1968 – 1971), commission for the Protection of the Olympic Emblems (1969 – 1977), commission for the Olympic Programme (1972 – 1980), and a member if the commission for the International Olympic Academy (1980 – 1988).

Włodzimierz Reczek (POL) A member of the IOC since 1961. Having spent time as president of both the Polish Olympic Committee and the Polish football federation, he was also served within the structure of the IOC as follows: President of the Cultural commission (1968 – 1972), and (1974 – 1980), member of the Information and Cultural commission (1973 – 1974), and the commission for the IOA (1980 –).

Hadj Mohammed Benjelloun (MOR) A member of the IOC since 1961. He has been highly influential as a leader of sporting organisations within the Middle East, Islamic and Arab countries. He has been President of numerous Moroccan sports federations, and organisational administrator for both the 3rd Panarab Games (Casablanca 1961) as well as for the IX Mediterranean Games in the same city in 1983. As a member of the IOC he has had less influence, however, he has served on the following commissions: Olympic Aid (1962 – 1963) and the cultural commission (1989 – 1990).

Marc Hodler (SWI) A member of the IOC since 1963. The long-serving President of the International Ski Federation since 1951, he has served on key commissions of enquiry related to the winter Olympic Games (1965 – 1968), the Finance commission (1967), and later become chairman of the commission itself, (1989 –). He has also served on the following commissions: the First Joint Commission (1968 – 1971), Legislation Commission (1968 – 1972), Juridicial Commission (1974 – 1987), the Commission of the Olympic Movement (1982 –), Chairman of the Co-ordination Commission for the Winter Olympic Games (1987 –), Apartheid and Olympism Commission, and Vice-Chairman of the Commission for the Olympic Programme (1989 –) as well as the Executive Board (1985 – 1989).

It is noteworthy that, as one of the most senior of IOC members, it was he who determined it necessary to publicly comment on the allegations of impropriety, making certain evidence available to the media. This evidence of bribery and corruption concerning the procedures and practices surrounding Salt Lake City's bid for the Winter Olympic Games led to the wider scandal and difficulties for the whole of the IOC membership.

Prince Alexandre de Merode (BEL) A member of the IOC since 1964. After a distinguished administrative record across Belgian sport, as an IOC member he has served on a number of key Olympic administrative bodies. He has been chairman of the IOC Medical Commission (1967 –), he served on the Executive Board (1980 – 1990), was a vice-president of the IOC (1986 – 1990), and a member of the Commission for the Olympic Movement (1980 – 1990).

Recently, his remit has been to establish a definitive anti-doping policy for the organisation. Interestingly, this tricky task has to be executed within the framework of the Medical Commission itself. The key aspect that still plagues this process of regulating substance abuse within the IOC is the fact each policy must be legally sound. This factor has caused major difficulties for the Olympic Movement, and even now they have not yet found a satisfactory and workable solution. It would be unfair however to single out the IOC as an ineffective anti-doping organisation, as the same problem exists within almost every society worldwide.

Major Sylvio de Magalhaes Padilha (BRA) A member of the IOC since 1964. After a long career as an athlete he became a key administrator within both Brazil and the wider Pan-American sports organisation. As an IOC member he served on the Executive Board (1970 – 1978) and (1983 – 1988). A vice president of the IOC (1975 – 1979), he also served on a number of key commissions: The Olympic programme (1972 – 1974), Enquiry into Rhodesia (1973 – 1975), Tripartite (1975 – 1978), Olympic Movement (1983 – 1988) and Eligibility (1989 – 1990).

Gunnar Lennart Vilhelm Ericsson (SWE) A member of the IOC since 1965. After retiring as a senior politician in Sweden, he worked as an administrator within a number of national sports organisations, and became chairman of the Swedish NOC. A crucial member of a host of IOC Commissions between (1967 – 1988). Ericsson then became chairman of the Co-ordination Commission for the Olympic Summer Games (1991 –), a member of the Executive Board (1988 –) and the Commission for the Olympic Movement (1989 –).

Mohammed Mzali (TUN) A member of the IOC since 1965. He continued a successful political career alongside his sports administration. President of the Tunisian NOC from (1962 – 1986), he assisted in the organisation of the Mediterranean Games in Tunis, 1967. He served on a number of IOC commissions including the Executive Board (1973 – 1980). He later became a vice-president (1976 – 1980), and was the chairman of the Commission for the Olympic Academy (1977 – 1988).

Juan Antonio Samaranch (SPA) An IOC member since 1966, he had a background in Economics and served his administrative apprenticeship as the Spanish ambassador to the former Soviet Union. His work within domestic sports organisations centred around his presidency of the Spanish Olympic Committee. He acted as a chef de mission for the 1956 winter Games, and the 1960 and 1964 summer Games. By 1968 he had been given the role of Head of protocol, and then again (1969 – 1970). He was appointed to the Executive Board (1970 – 1978) and was a vice-

president of the IOC (1974 – 1978). On having been brought back onto the Executive Board in 1979, he was soon elected by the other IOC members as President of the IOC in 1980 a position he only relinquishes at the 2002 Winter Olympic Games.

His presidency has transformed the fortunes of the whole array of Olympic organisations and Commissions. While the Olympic Games have become increasingly popular, interestingly the IOC and other key Olympic organisations have been viewed as being somehow covert, corrupt and unaccountable. To speak of this issue occurring universally across all opinions as well as all IOC members would surely be erroneous. Ultimately there were only a few IOC members who have been found to be corrupt after the Salt Lake City bidding scandal.

Jan Staubo (NOR) A member of the IOC since 1967. After a career as a Tennis player and administrator, he became a board member of the Norwegian Sports Association, then President of the organising committees for a number of national, international and world championships. Despite his relatively long service within the Olympic Movement the extent his involvement within the organisation has been as a member of a variety of minor Commissions of Enquiry on Olympic matters.

Agustin Carlos Arroyo (ECU) A member of the IOC since 1968. He was a senior lawyer and successful businessman, as well as president of the Ecuadorian NOC (1964 – 1968) before being appointed to the IOC. His participation in the Olympic Movement seems to have been a relatively limited. He has served on a number of committees and most notably, is currently serving on the IOC Radio and Television Commission.

Louis Guirandou-N'Diaye (IVC) A member of the IOC since 1969. He had a long career regulating and administrating Judo in both the Ivory Coast and Africa. He served on a number of key IOC commissions of enquiry (1973 – 1978), when he became a member of the Executive Board. He was a vice president of the IOC (1980 –1984). After briefly serving on the Commission for the Olympic order and Financing Commission, he became Chief of Protocol in 1985. This position and his membership of the Olympic Solidarity Commission in 1988 have been the two key roles for this important IOC member.

Virgilio E. de Leon (PAN) A member of the IOC since 1969. He is still very much a junior IOC member in terms of responsibility. After participating as an athlete in volleyball, water polo and fencing throughout Central America, he went on to enjoy a distinguished career in a variety of Caribbean and Central American sports administration. Despite this experience he only latterly

served on the IOC Executive Board (1980 –1984), at which point he became a member of the Cultural Commission.

Maurice Herzog (FRA) A member of the IOC since 1970. He was the head of the French expedition to the Himalayas, which climbed Annapurna in 1950 and had a legal and political background. He became Chief of Protocol (1975 – 1978), was a member of the Commission of New Sources of Financing (1983 – 1987). Later he was appointed as a member of the Commission of Preparation for the XII Olympic Congress (1989 – 1992), and a member of the Press commission (1989 – 1991).

Vitaly Smirnov (RUS) A member of the IOC since 1971. He had been a career politician and member of the Moscow Soviet. He was soon co-opted to the Executive Board where served two terms, (1974 – 1982) and (1986 – 1990). As a senior member he has served on a number of key commissions (Olympic Movement, Olympic Order and Eligibility) and has also held the post of IOC vice president (1978 – 1982), and (1991 –). A senior IOC delegate, he has played an important role as an Eastern bloc ally in the diplomacy associated with the development of the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games themselves.

Pedro Ramirez Vasquez (MEX) A member of the IOC since 1972. He was a key player in the organising committee for the Mexico Olympic Games of 1968. He became President of the Mexican Olympic Committee in 1972, but he left his national post in 1974. He has only ever been an administrator within the IOC. Nevertheless he has served on a number of key commissions, including as President of the Cultural Commission (1980 –).

Manuel Gonzalez Guerra (CUB) A member of the IOC since 1973. He is the long-serving president of the Cuban Olympic Committee. He has served as a key member in baseball and softball administration, as well as a member of the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Sports Organisation (PASO). On joining the IOC he was soon appointed to the commission for Olympic Solidarity (1975 – 1980) and has since served on the Sport for All Commission (1984 – 1987) and again (1989 –).

Ashwini Kumar (IND) A member of the IOC since 1973. He had been a longstanding dignitary within Indian, Asian and Commonwealth sport since 1956. He was appointed to the Executive Board (1980 – 1987) and was an IOC Vice-President (1983 – 1987). Key commissions that he has served on are: Olympic Solidarity, Olympic Movement, Mass Media, Radio and Olympic

Order. A key member of the IOC he has been invaluable in the moves towards universalism within the Olympic Movement.

Juge Keba Mbaye (SEN) A member of the IOC since 1973. He is a senior international lawyer and is a Vice-President of the Senegalese Olympic Committee. It took him a decade to before becoming involved in the Court of Arbitration for sport (1983 –), yet soon after, he was appointed to the commission for the Olympic Movement and the Executive Board in 1984. He was later to become a Vice-President (1988 –) and has remained a senior member of the IOC ever since. He remains very active within the organisation and appears on a number of key commissions.

Mohamed Zerguini (ALG) A member of the IOC since 1974. He had been a long serving member of the Algerian Football Association and provided important administration in the staging of a number of multi-sports events in North Africa and the Mediterranean. He has served on the commission for the Olympic Academy (1982 –) and also on the commission for the preparation of the Olympic Games (1984 – 1986).

The New Breed: 1975 onwards.

Matts Wilhelm Carlgren (SWE) A member of the IOC since 1976. He came from a business background with interests in forestry and banking. He had also had a wealth of experience administering Swedish sport throughout the 1960s and 1970s. He has served on the Cultural Commission (1981 – 1984), and has been a member of the Finance Commission (1989 –).

Dr. Kevin Patrick O’Flanagan (IRE) A member of the IOC since 1976. It was as an administrator in his native Ireland that he has had most impact. He had a significant role in the development of sport in Britain and Ireland following World War Two. His previous career was in the field of sports medicine and rehabilitation from injury. Although a President of the Irish Sports Medicine Association and a member of the International Sports Medicine Federation, his role within the IOC has been concentrated on the IOC Medical Commission (1980 –).

Peter Julius Tallberg (FIN) A member of the IOC since 1976. After a successful business career, as well as an administrative and participatory background within Sailing and Skiing in Finland, he has gone on to become a senior member of the IOC. He played an important role in the transformation of the organisation through his service on numerous commissions. Among the various commissions which he has been involved in are: Eligibility (1979 – 1980), Olympic Movement (1981 –) Athletes Commission Chairman (1981 –), Coordination of the Summer

Olympic Games (1989 – 1992) and (1993 – 1996). He remains a senior and valuable member of the organisation.

Jose D. Vallarino Veracierto (URU) A member of the IOC since 1976. His background was as a history teacher but his sporting pedigree in Uruguay within a number of sports was extensive. Furthermore he served as the Secretary of the Pan-American Sports Organisation (1967 – 1975), and was President of the Uruguayan Olympic Committee (1976 – 1987). However as a member of the IOC his administrative influence has been somewhat more limited. He has been a member of the IOC Cultural commission from (1980 –).

Bashir Mohamed Attarabulsi (LIB) A member of the IOC since 1977. He was a longtime sports administrator in Libya and North Africa. He has been president of the Libyan NOC since 1971, a Vice-President of the ANOCA (1981 – 1985) and a member of the Executive Board of the Arab Sports Federation. His seniority and experience within the Arab sports world made him an asset to an organisation with a pragmatic emphasis. As a member of the IOC he has served on the Press Commission (1983 – 1984), member for the Commission of the Programme (Olympic events) from (1984 –).

R. Kevan Gosper (AUS) A member of the IOC since 1977. He had a very successful athletic career, winning a silver medal in the 4 x 400m relay at the Melbourne Games of 1956. His role as a senior chairman and administrator within industry continues alongside his work for the Olympic Movement. Despite this seemingly heavy workload, Gosper has served on a number of varied Olympic commissions, soon rising to the Executive Board (1986 – 1990). Latterly he was promoted to the position of IOC Vice-President (1990 –).

Niels Holst-Sorensen (DEN) A member of the IOC since 1977. He has an army background where his experience dates from 1946, with administrative positions held within both Denmark and NATO. His military career was punctuated by numerous domestic athletic titles as well as appearing as a participant at the London Olympic Games of 1948. He has served on a number of important commissions since 1980. He has served on the Co-ordination Commission for the Winter Olympic Games (1989 –) and became chairman in 1998.

Lamine Keita (MALI) A member of the IOC since 1977. After a long career within engineering he was an experienced sports administrator that saw him serving as a senior basketball official within both Africa and FIBA. An important IOC member, Keita is a vice-president of the Islamic

Federation of Olympic Solidarity and still serves as a member on the Olympic Solidarity (1980 –) and Radio and Television (1984 –) Commissions.

Shagdarjav Magvan (MON) A member of the IOC since 1977. He has a background in teaching and Trade Unions within Mongolia. A longstanding president of the Mongolian Olympic Committee he has a sporting background in wrestling. Despite his seniority he has been a peripheral figure within the IOC since his appointment. In fact, he has yet to serve on an IOC commission.

Philipp von Schoeller (AUT) A member of the IOC since 1977. A senior industrialist in Austria since the end of World War Two, his sporting administration has been limited to Commodore of the Yacht Club of Austria (1974 – 1978) and patron of the Spanish Riding School in Vienna since 1971. As an IOC member he has served on numerous commissions crucially those related to New Sources of Financing (1984 – 1988) and the more general Finance commission (1989 –).

Prof. Rene Essomba (CAM) A member of the IOC since 1978. He had enjoyed a successful medical career in both Cameroon and France. As a sports administrator he has served African football in various capacities since 1966, and has remained president of the Cameroonian NOC, since 1972. Furthermore he has occupied the crucial, regional post of Secretary General of the ANOCA (1989 –). As an IOC member he has served on the Medical Commission (1981 –), and also on the Commission for the Olympic Movement (1991 –). A senior IOC member with extensive links throughout sport in Africa, and a popular ally in diplomatic pragmatism, he was recently expelled from the movement, following his role in the bidding process scandal surrounding Salt Lake City.

Honourable Tan Seri Hamzah Bin Haji Abu Samah (MAY) A member of the IOC since 1978. A lawyer and magistrate has held a variety of government posts within Malaysia between 1959 and 1980. His sporting background is almost as extensive. He has served as president of the Olympic Council of Malaysia, a Vice-President of FIFA as well as on various continental sporting organisations and governing bodies. He has served as a member of Olympic commissions related to: Juridicial, Cultural and Eligibility Criteria. Despite his service record, and his importance to the Olympic Movement's relations with Asian sporting organisations, he remains a peripheral figure within the IOC.

Yu Sun Kim (PRK) A member of the IOC since 1978. A professor of Physical Education and Sports who enjoyed a long and varied career managing North Korean sport. He had played

international football for his country as well as having served on numerous domestic, sports policy-making bodies. As a member of the IOC he has continued in the establishment of policy by serving on the Sports for All Commission (1989 –).

Richard W. Pound (CAN) A member of the IOC since 1978. He had a legal and academic background and a long, distinguished swimming career representing his country at the Olympic Games of 1960 and the Commonwealth Games of 1962. Administratively he had served Canadian sport, and particularly swimming, since 1968. He has served on the Executive Board (1983 – 1991) and became an IOC Vice-President (1987 – 1991). A longstanding member of a variety of IOC commissions especially those related to the rights to Olympic symbols and television rights negotiations. He has become a crucially important member of the IOC as this aspect of the organisation has itself become more important.

Vladimir Cernusak (CZE) A member of the IOC since 1981. He had a background as a University lecturer in the Czech Republic, in the field of pedagogy and physical education. His sports administration had been limited to determining physical education policy, although he was also vice-president of the old Czechoslovakian Olympic Committee. He served on the Commission for the Olympic Programme (1983 –).

Nikos Filaretos (GRE) A member of the IOC since 1981. He had an academic background in commerce and economics that led to an early career in business. His sports administration experience includes the positions of, Secretary General of the Hellenic Olympic Committee and Secretary of the International Committee for the Mediterranean Games. He has served on the Press commission (1982 – 1983) and later became President of the International Olympic Academy (1987 –).

Pirjo Haggman (FIN) A member of the IOC since 1981. She taught physical education in Finland since 1973 and as an athlete, she participated at the 1972, 1976 and 1980 Olympic Games in the 400m. As a sports administrator, she has held numerous positions in Finnish sport since 1975. At the IOC she has served on a number of commissions since 1982. She has been vice-chairman of the Athletes Commission (1983 – 1984) a member of the Study and Evaluation Commission for the Preparation of the Olympic Games (1985 – 1987). She resigned from the IOC prior to the full hearing and report of the IOC disciplinary panel into the Salt Lake City 2002 scandal. Up to that point, she had provided much needed female representation within the IOC.

Zenliang He (CHN) A member of the IOC since 1981. He had been an engineer and junior minister in China with extensive experience on matters related to both Chinese and Olympic sport dating back to 1952 in Helsinki. He has served on the Executive Board and became an IOC Vice-President (1989 –). As well as this senior role within the IOC he has served on numerous other commissions particularly those related to Olympism and the Olympic Order. A valued, senior member of the organisation he remains a powerful component in the dynamics of how the IOC manages itself.

Flor Isava-Fonseca (VEN) A member of the IOC since 1981. She is an author and journalist who has pioneered domestic sports participation campaigns. A national champion in Show jumping, Tennis and Golf, she won a Tennis silver medal at the Central American Games of 1946. A long career administering sports organisations in Venezuela led to her appointment as sports advisor to the president. Within the IOC she initially served on the Commission for the IOA (1981 – 1991). A member of the Executive Board (1990 –) and a member of the Commission for the Olympic Movement (1991 –), she is well respected within the organisation and again provides a key element of female representation.

Franco Carraro (ITA) A member of the IOC since 1982. He originally hails from the airline industry, although he has experienced public office in his role as First Minister for Tourism, and then Mayor of Rome. His sports participation is concentrated on water-skiing, although his record of sports administration is somewhat more impressive, with service on the following domestic and regional sporting bodies: President of the Italian NOC (1978 – 1987), President of the European NOCs (1980 – 1987) and Vice-President of the ANOC (1981 – 1987). He has also served on the following IOC Commissions: Olympic Solidarity (1986 – 1987), Eligibility (1983 – 1989) and has been Vice-President of the Commission for the Olympic Programme (1983 –).

Phillip Walter Coles (AUS) A member of the IOC since 1982. He appeared as a participant at the 1960, 1964 and 1968 Olympic Games in canoeing. He went on to become a team manager and then later an administrator for both canoeing and general Olympic sport within Australia. He has held numerous positions on various IOC commissions since 1983. Recently he has been forced to step down as the Australian IOC member on SOCOG, after being implicated in the Salt Lake City vote-buying scandal.

Ivan Dibos (PER) A member of the IOC since 1982. He was a distinguished business administrator and a relatively successful participant in a variety of sports. He represented his

country in track and field at Continental Games level, yet it is his record at administering sport in Peru that saw him appointed to the IOC. He served on the following IOC commissions:

Television (1983 – 1984), Study and Evaluation Commission for the Preparation of the Olympic Games (1984 – 1986), and the Commission for the IOA (1988 –).

Mary Alison Glen-Haig (GBR) A member of the IOC since 1982. She had participated in fencing at the Olympic Games between 1948 and 1960. An executive member of the British Olympic Association since 1972, she has played an important role in the development of sport policy in Great Britain. Although she has only served on the Medical Commission (1983 –) she has acted as an effective and influential IOC member.

Chiharu Igaya (JAP) A member of the IOC since 1982. He has considerable influence over the Winter Olympic International Sports Federations (WOISF) as a member of the International Ski Federation. He had valuable experience in education and business in the USA as well as widespread sports administration and policy-making. He has been equally influential within the IOC, serving on a number of Commissions related to both the Winter Olympic Games and the wider Olympic Movement. These include membership of the Television Commission (1984 – 1987) the Commission for the Olympic Programme and the Executive Board (1987 – 1991).

Anani Matthia (TOG) A member of the IOC since 1983. A longstanding member and President of his national football federation, he holds considerable influence within African sport as a member of both the African Football Confederation (1978 – 1988) and the President of the ANOCA (1981 – 1989). As a member of the IOC he has held considerable influence due to his popularity within Africa. He has served on the following commissions of enquiry: Olympic Movement (1983 – 1990), Olympic Solidarity (1983 – 1990) and Sports for All (1989 –) He can be a valuable ally for the organisation's goal of greater universalism.

Roque Napoleon Munoz Pena (DOM) A member of the IOC since 1983. He had an extensive career in Central American sports administration as well as the long-term President of the Dominican NOC (1974 – 1992). A civil engineer, Munoz Pena is a peripheral figure within the Olympic Movement at this stage. It remains to be seen whether he becomes more important to the organisation in future. To date his experience has been to serve on the Olympic Solidarity Commission (1989 –).

Pal Schmitt (HUN), A member of the IOC since 1983. He was an Olympic gold medal winner in fencing at the 1968 and 1972 Olympic Games and has risen to become a central actor on the

Olympic administrative stage. An economics background coupled with being multi-lingual allowed Schmitt to progress quickly within the IOC structure. He has been a member of the Executive Board (1991 –), as well as serving on a variety of crucial organisational commissions as both, a member and vice-president. These have included; Athletes Commission (1984 – 1988), Commission for the Winter Games (1987 –), Eligibility Commission (1989 –), Commission for the Olympic Movement (1992 –).

Princess Nora of Liechtenstein (LEI) A member of the IOC since 1984. She hailed from a background of languages and international studies. Despite her sports participation being widespread it has been largely recreational in nature however, she has been President of the Liechtenstein NOC since 1982. Her time spent as a researcher to the World Bank in the USA and involvement with development and aid organisations provided her with important experience of international issues – a valuable resource for the IOC. She has served on the Evaluation and Preparation Commission for the Olympic Games (1984 – 1986) and Commission for the Olympic Programme (1989 – 1991).

David Sikhulumi Sibandze (SWA) A member of the IOC since 1984. His academic background is firmly rooted in commerce and business, with practical experience of governmental level financial organisation and control. As a founder member and first president of the Swaziland NOC, Sibandze soon became one of the most powerful sports administrators in Africa, illustrated by his membership of the ANOCA Executive Committee (1981 – 1985). He has served on the Evaluation Commission for the Olympic Games (1984 – 1986) and the Cultural Commission (1989 –). A peripheral figure, he recently resigned from the IOC following the official investigation into the tainted Salt Lake City bid for the 2002 Winter Games.

Major General Henry Edmund Olufemi Adefope (NIG) A member of the IOC since 1985. He had an interesting if unorthodox background, firstly in medicine and then via the Nigerian Army he moved into politics and government. A former President of the Nigerian NOC (1967 – 1976), and Vice-president of the Commonwealth Games Federation (1974 – 1982), he has also served on the Apartheid and Olympism Commission (1989 – 1996), and the Medical Commission (1989 –). Implicated in the tainted bid for the 2002 Winter Olympic Games.

Francisco Elizalde (PHI) A member of the IOC since 1985. He has had a business background in his native Philippines since 1955 and he has served regional football in an administrative capacity since 1965. In 1982 he joined the NOC, and has served on the IOC Commission of New Sources

of Financing (1989 –). While at first glance his influence within the IOC may seem limited, the impact that the commercial policies pursued by the Olympic Movement have had on the Olympic Games within the last decade are highly significant. Elizalde is a member of this key commission within the policy-making process.

Carlos Ferrer (SPA) A member of the IOC since 1985. From Barcelona, he has a background of service at board level with numerous multinational businesses. A Davis Cup tennis player in the 1950s, his experience of sports administration is limited despite close involvement with the Summer Olympic Games of 1992. He has been Vice-Chairman of the Finance Commission (1989 –). From the chronology of his career to date, it is clear that his role was to provide a better commercial outlook for the IOC and the Olympic Movement. It is significant that an international businessman with little sports administration experience, is placed in such a position within Olympic structures.

Prince Albert of Monaco A member of the IOC since 1985. He has had a varied career in the French Navy, public relations and international law, all of which provided valuable experience. A participant at the 1988 Winter Games in Calgary, he has a wide variety of sporting interests. He also holds the presidency of a number of Monagasque sporting federations. His administrative record meant that he was soon appointed to the Athletes Commission (1989 –), Cultural Commission (1990 –) and Olympic Games Coordination Commission (1991 –). While his influence has been negligible so far, he is still young enough to have a lengthy and successful career within Olympic administration.

Dr. Un Yong Kim (DRK) A member of the IOC since 1986. He is a career diplomat who has held numerous prestigious and important positions for his country. As president of the Korean Tae-kwon-do Association and then of the Korean NOC in the 1970s he put himself in a position to become president of the World Tae-kwon-do Federation (WTF) and then President of the GAISF (1986 –). Dr. Kim is a member of the IOC Executive Board (1988 –) and has served on a variety of Olympic Commissions. These include, Vice-Chairman of the IOC Radio and Television Commission (1987 – 1988) and then Chairman (1989 –), and the Commission for the Olympic Movement (1988 – 1993). A high-profile member of the IOC he was recently passed over, much to his chagrin, in the voting for the successor to President Samaranch.

Lambis W. Nikolaou (GRE) A member of the IOC since 1986. He is a celebrated civil engineer who supervised construction of the Athens Olympic Stadium, and has advised senior government

committees on numerous occasions. He has been president of the Hellenic Olympic Committee since 1985, yet his career to date within the Olympic authorities is limited. However, he has served on the Cultural Commission (1988 –).

Anita DeFrantz (USA) A member of the IOC since 1986. She has both an Olympic medal in Rowing and a successful legal career behind her. It was her membership of the LAOOC in 1984 that brought her to the attention of the Olympic Movement. As a member of the USOC she immediately provided a particularly vocal addition to the Olympic dynamic. She has served on the Athletes Commission (1988 – 1991), Commission for the Olympic Programme (1989 –) and Admission Commission (1992 –).

Jean-Claude Ganga (CON) A member of the IOC since 1986. Formerly a trades union official, and national ambassador to China, he has also been the Congolese Minister for Tourism, Sports and Leisure from 1985. As Secretary General of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, (1966 – 1979), he came to the attention of the Olympic Movement. President of the ANOCA (1989 –), he has served on the following IOC commissions: Sports for All (1988 – 1989), Olympism (1989 –), New Sources of Financing (1989 –), Olympic Solidarity (1990 –) and the Olympic Movement (1991 –). His influence within the IOC has been important and yet he remains outside of the cabinet system that is headed by the President and Executive Board.

Ivan Borissov Slavkov (BUL) A member of the IOC since 1987. He has a mechanical engineering background but has also spent time in television and later as Deputy Minister of Culture. He was a member of the National Water Polo team (1959 – 1964). He has also been president of the Bulgarian NOC and a member of the Executive Board of the AENOC. Within a year of his appointment, he was already serving on important Olympic commissions, including New Sources of Financing (1987 –), Olympism (1988 –) and the Radio and Television Commission (1987 –). It is clear that Slavkov is very popular with the hierarchy of the Olympic Movement, and an influential career beckons.

Anthonius Johannes Geesink (HOL) A member of the IOC since 1987. He was an Olympic Judo champion at the Tokyo games of 1964 and despite being a physical education teacher, he had limited experience of sports administration. Almost immediately on joining the committee he was appointed to the Sports for All Commission (1987 –). Recently he was severely reprimanded by the IOC commission of enquiry, for his part in the improprieties surrounding the Salt Lake City vote-buying scandal. He now seems destined to be very much a peripheral figure in future.

Slobodan Filipovic (YUG) A member of the IOC since 1987. He has been a lawyer and governmental policy-maker at a variety of levels, with a sporting background involving limited participation but extensive administrative experience. He rose to the Judicial Committee of the AENOC and chairman of the Yugoslav Olympic Committee in 1981. He has served on the Cultural Commission (1988 –). His future opportunities to progress within the organisation may be hampered by political factors stemming from his nation's record of conflict and upheaval in the current Balkan situation.

Seuili Paul Wallwork (WSM) A member of the IOC since 1987. He has a background in teaching and political advising and has also participated in a number of sports however none at Olympic level. His recovery from an accident that almost left him tetraplegic is remarkable. He has held numerous key administrative positions in both Western Samoan and South Pacific sport. He has served on the following commissions, Cultural (1989 – 1991), Sports for All (1989 – 1991) and Olympic Solidarity (1991 –). While he has been an effective IOC member, he has yet to enjoy a position of real influence or power.

HRH The Princess Royal (GBR) A member of the IOC since 1988. She is, as part of the British royal family, the patron of a number of sporting organisations across the British Isles. Her sports participation has been limited to horse riding, an event that she competed at in the Montreal Olympic Games of 1976. She is president of the International Equestrian Federation and honorary president of the BOA. She has served as a representative of the ISF to the Eligibility Commission (1990 –). While not holding much real power, many fellow members take notice of what she has to say simply because of her background. She remains a staunch advocate of the ethical and moral role of Olympic sport and in fact, she considered her position within the organisation after the Salt Lake City vote-buying debacle.

Fidel Mendoza Carrasquilla (COL) A member of the IOC since 1988. He hails from a medical background and has had experience of setting national health policy in Colombia. His sporting and administrative experience to date has been as treasurer of PASO (1976 –) and president of the Colombian Olympic Committee (1979 – 1989). He soon served on the Commission for the IOA (1989 – 1990) and later found his niche when appointed to the Medical Commission (1990 –).

Tennant Edward 'Tay' Wilson (NZ) A member of the IOC since 1988. He has been perhaps the most senior New Zealand sport official over the past four decades. A chartered accountant, his sporting background was in rowing although he has served on a wide variety of authorities

governing the financial aspects of sport in New Zealand, the Commonwealth and the ONOC. Wilson has been a member of the Commission for New Sources of Financing (1989 –), but otherwise his involvement within the IOC and the Olympic Movement has been limited.

Ching-Kuo Wu (CTP) A member of the IOC since 1988. He is an architect with a background in basketball, and extensive experience of sports administration within Taipei. On joining the IOC, Wu has served on the Commission for the IOA (1989 – 1991), Cultural Commission (1992 –) and the Co-ordination Commission for the Olympic Games (1992 –). One of the younger members from Asia, his expertise will be very useful to the organisation in future.

Ram Ruhee (MAU) A member of the IOC since 1988. He had a successful career as a teacher before concentrating on sports administration. Despite never competing at the highest level, Ruhee soon became extremely influential within African sport as his presidency of the Mauritius Football Association, saw him mix in Commonwealth and ANOCA circles. He has served as a member of the Olympic Solidarity Commission (1989 –).

Marat Gramov (RUS) A member of the IOC since 1988. He is a social scientist with extensive political experience within the former Soviet Union. He was NOC president between 1983 and 1990. He also served on the Committee organising the Moscow Olympic Games in 1980. Within the IOC he has served on the Sports for All Commission (1989 –), and as the NOC representative on the Commission for the Olympic Movement (1989 –).

Sinan Erdem (TUR) A member of the IOC since 1988. He is a trained lawyer although his career has mainly been spent in the business sector. A volleyball player of international standard, he has also coached the national team and later became general secretary of the Turkish Volleyball Federation. His experience has seen him act as a member on the technical committee for various Volleyball, Mediterranean, European and Olympic competitions. He has also served as an official at all Olympic Games since Mexico City in 1968. Within the IOC he served on the following commissions: the Olympic Solidarity Commission (1989 –), and the Commission for the Olympic Programme (1992 –).

Willi Kaltschmitt Lujan (GUA) A member of the IOC since 1988. He has a business background related to administration, human relations, marketing and advertising, which served him well in a successful career in the private sector. He had been president of his NOC between 1983 and 1992, and he spent twelve years as general secretary of the Guatemalan Olympic Boxing Federation.

Within the IOC he has served on the following commissions: New Sources of Financing (1989 –), the Coordination Commission for the Summer Olympic Games (1991 –).

Major General Francis Nyangweso (UGA) A member of the IOC since 1988. He is a bank executive, who had a meteoric rise to prominence within his national government (1973 – 1980). He participated in boxing competitions at the Olympic Games in Rome and the Commonwealth Games in Perth (1962). He reached the heights of the Board of the International Amateur Boxing Association, and was appointed as vice-president in 1986. Tellingly he also served as a member of the ANOCA Board. He has served as a member of the Commission for the IOA (1990 –).

Borislav Stankovic (YUG) A member of the IOC since 1988. He is a veterinarian and a qualified basketball coach, who played on the Yugoslav national team (1949 – 1953). His administrative career saw him rise from the Yugoslav Basketball Federation, through the ranks of FIBA to become secretary general in 1976. Within the IOC he served on the following commissions: the Co-ordination for the Summer Olympic Games (1989 –), Eligibility (1990 – 1991) and the Olympic Programme (1992 –).

Fernando Ferreira Lima Bello (POR) A member of the IOC since 1989. He has a background as a civil engineer with experience within national government. His sporting participation is primarily in Sailing, having competed at the 1968 Olympic Games. He has also been a long-term Chairman of the Portugese Sailing Federation, and later served on the Portugese NOC. Within the IOC he has served on the Commission for the IOA (1990 –).

Walther Troeger (GER) A member of the IOC since 1989. A lifelong sports administrator, with sports participation involving handball, basketball and a career that culminated in his appointment to the German NOC in 1961. He consolidated his early involvement with the Olympic Movement – since the early 1970s – serving on the following IOC commissions: IOC Sports Director (1983 – 1990), Commission for the Preparation of the Olympic Games (1990 – 1991), Chairman of the Sport for All Commission (1990 –) and membership of the Coordination Commission for the Olympic Games (1992 –).

Phillipe Chatrier (FRA) A member of the IOC since 1990. He is a trained journalist, who had limited success as a Tennis player in the 1950s and 1960s. His sports administration is more distinguished and began when he served as vice-president then president of the French Tennis Federation. He became president of the ITF (1977 – 1991). Within the IOC he served on the

following commissions: Eligibility (1990 – 1991), Preparation of the XII Olympic Congress (1990 –), and President of the Commission for the Olympic Programme (1992 –).

Carol Anne Letheren (CAN) A member of the IOC since 1990. She has a background in academia, as an associate professor of Physical Education at the University of Toronto. Latterly, and notably, given the context of this thesis, she has played a large part in establishing her own Public Relations company. She has had a wealth of relevant sports administration experience within North American and world gymnastics. She has served on numerous Federations and has acted as an International Judge at the Olympic Games in 1976 and 1984. She was appointed to the presidency of the Canadian NOC in 1990. She has served on the IOC Press Commission (1992 –). Her future within the Olympic Movement policy-making process seems secure.

Shun-Ichiro Okano (JAP) A member of the IOC since 1990. He has played football in the Olympics and has a distinguished record of sports administration both within Japan and Asia. He was made general secretary of the Japanese Olympic Committee in 1977. When in 1985 he became vice-president of the GAAISF, it was clear that he was capable of higher office. Within the IOC he has served on the Commission for the Summer Olympic Games (1992 –).

Richard Carrion (PUR) A member of the IOC since 1990. A background in banking and information technology systems, Carrion is clearly the type of individual that the IOC required, yet he had only limited experience of sports administration. Nevertheless, he has been an Executive Committee member of the Puerto Rico Olympic Committee and has acted as a member of the organising committee of the 1993 Central American Games. Within the IOC he has served on the Co-ordination Commission for the 1996 Olympic Games (1991 –), and significantly as a member of the Finance Commission (1991 –). It is clear that Carrion was appointed to the IOC for his expertise in banking and financial matters.

General Zein El Abdin Mohamed Abdel Gadir (SUD) A member of the IOC since 1990. He had a long military career before moving into government. In terms of sports administration, he had served North African football and sport for the last twenty years. He was the President of the Sudanese NOC (1980 – 1987) and founded the Federation for School Sports in Sudan. Within the IOC he has served on the Cultural Commission since 1992.

Dr. Nat Indrapana (THA) A member of the IOC since 1990. He is another Physical Education professional who grew in influence through his involvement in University sport. He later served on a number of sports development bodies in both Thailand and Asia, but it was probably his

membership of the Olympic Council of Asia which alerted the IOC to his promise. Within the IOC, his service has so far been limited to the Eligibility Commission (1992 –). It is unclear what his future within the Olympic Movement will be.

Charles Nderifu Mukora (KEN) A member of the IOC in 1990. He has a background in teaching physical education, service within the Kenyan government and then as a representative of Coca-Cola for Africa. Despite serving on a variety of domestic sports organisations, he only became president of the Kenyan NOC in 1989. During the same period he was made vice-president of the Commonwealth Games Committee. Within the IOC he served to the Commission for New Sources of Financing (1992 –). Significantly, Mukora was implicated in the Salt Lake City vote-buying scandal, and decided to resign in early 1999.

Colonel Antonio Rodriguez (ARG) A member of the IOC since 1990. He came from a military background and participated in the 1948 Olympic Games Pentathlon. He has served many sports, particularly fencing, across Argentina and South America. This experience saw him establish the Argentinian IOA in 1982. Within the IOC, he served on the 'Sports for All' Commission (1992 – 1999). (Deceased)

Denis Oswald (SWI) A member of the IOC since 1991. He has a legal background and served as a judge on the Court of Arbitration for Sport. A Rowing participant at the 1968 Olympic Games, he was secretary General of the International Rowing Federation (FISA) (1978 – 1989), when he became president of the organisation. This ISF experience, along with his involvement in the Swiss NOC from 1985 was invaluable for the Olympic Movement. Within the IOC he became vice-chairman of the Eligibility Commission, (1992 –).

Dr. Jacques Rogge (BEL) A member of the IOC since 1991. He comes from a medical background, later specializing in sports medicine and orthopedic surgery. An Olympic competitor in Yachting and a Rugby International, Rogge acted as a chef de mission for a number of Belgian Olympic delegations and also presided over the AENOC and the Belgian Olympic Committee from 1990 onwards. Within the IOC he has served on the Commission for the Olympic Movement (1990 –), the Olympic Solidarity Commission (1990 –), the Medical Commission (1992 –) and the Commission for the Olympic Programme (1992 –). A long-term Vice-President and Executive Board member, he has played a key role in establishing official anti-doping policy and practice. He has recently been voted as the next President of the IOC when Samaranch steps down.

Mario Vasquez-Rana (MEX) A member of the IOC since 1991. He rose from a background in business administration to become chairman of multi-national media organisation, United Press International. He was a national shooting team member and got his first experience of sporting administration at the head of the Mexican Shooting Federation (1968 – 1974). In 1974 he rose to the presidency of the Mexican NOC and in 1975 to the presidency of PASO. When he became president of the ANOC in 1979, he began serving on IOC commissions despite not being an IOC member. Within the IOC he has served on the Olympism Commission (1990 –) and the Commission for the Olympic Movement (1990 –). A powerful international media magnate his influence within the IOC extends beyond his service on official commissions.

Thomas Bach (GER) A member of the IOC since 1991. He is a lawyer specialising in economic and financial matters and a former Olympic-fencing competitor. He has limited sports administration experience, and it would seem that he was appointed to the IOC for other reasons. Although he had a little experience within the German NOC, he soon became a member of the Commission of New Sources of Financing (1992 –). Despite serving on the IOC Athletes Commission (1981 – 1988) and the Press Commission (1985 – 1988) whilst not an IOC member, in future his involvement seems likely to be specialised within the legal and financial state of the organisation.

Olaf Paulsen (NOR) A member of the IOC since 1992. He is a retired managing director with a number of business interests, who gradually worked his way to the top of Speed Skating, and Ice-Skating administration at the Winter Olympic Games. He has been president of the ISU since 1980. He had already served on the Commission for the Olympic Programme (1988 –) and the Commission for the Olympic Movement (1989 –) and continued within those roles on joining the IOC. It is likely that he will remain the president of the most important ISF to the Winter Olympic Games.

Sheik Ahmad Al Fahad Al-Sabah (KUW) A member of the IOC since 1992. From a military and later a business background, his sporting credentials relate to events as diverse as Yachting, Football, Handball and Shooting both within the national and regional arena. Since joining the IOC his service on the Sport for All Commission (1992 –) and the Commission for the Olympic Movement (1994 –), indicates an increasingly international spread of the IOC membership.

Mohamad Bob Hasan (INA) A member of the IOC since 1994. His background in management, finance and forestry as well as extensive administration in both Indonesian and Asian sport since

the 1970s illustrates the experience that he brings to the post. On joining the IOC he was soon seconded to the Cultural (1995 –), New Sources of Financing (1995 –) and Radio and Television (1995 –) commissions. This service illustrates his recent yet important role in the organisational structure.

Gerhard Heiberg (NOR) A member of the IOC since 1994. From a business background and the Presidency of the Lillehammer Olympic Organising Committee (LOOC), (1989 – 1994), he became a member of the Norwegian Olympic Committee in 1994. A member of the Coordination commission for the winter Olympics in Nagano 1998 and Salt Lake City 2002 as well as the Sport and the Environment Commission (1996 –), his specialisation within Olympic organisational structures will serve him well in future.

Valery Borzov (UKR) A member of the IOC since 1994. His experience within government and physical education as well as national sports administration since 1979 is important. As president of the NOC since 1991 and given his background as a multiple Olympic athletics champion (100m and 200m) his experience as a participant is crucial for the IOC's development of the Olympic Games. Since joining the IOC, his role has been somewhat limited to membership of the eligibility commission (1995 –). His future role is likely to expand far beyond that experienced to date.

S.E.M. Alpha Ibrahim Diallo (GUI) A member of the IOC since 1994. He had a distinguished background within media and communication organisations, before embarking upon an ambassadorial role firstly in the Middle East and then at the United Nations in New York. A long-term NOC president and member of the ANOCA executive, he has also had extensive experience within the broadcasting industry, particularly in Africa. Since becoming an IOC member he has served on the Sport for All (1995 –) and Radio and Television (1996 –) commissions. His strategic experience suggests an extended role in IOC affairs in future.

James L. Easton (USA) A member of the IOC since 1994. As Chairman of a successful international sports equipment company, he has enjoyed a distinguished business career. President of FITA and long-term Archery administrator at a National and International level, he has had an expanding role since joining the IOC. He has served on the Press (1995 – 1996) and Eligibility (1996 –) commissions as well as having been an IF representative on the Sport and the Environment commission (1996 –). He is an experienced and highly regarded individual, who will likely have a key role in the organisation's future.

Alex Gilady (ISR) A member of the IOC since 1994. A journalist and sports commentator since the 1960s, he has been president of NBC sports since 1981. His sports administration experience is limited to the Chairmanship of the IAAF Television Commission (1985 –). however, his expertise is clear. For this reason he was approached to serve as an IOC member, having served on the IOC Radio and Television commission since 1985. Bringing valuable expertise from the broadcasting industry his role is likely to be limited yet crucial.

Arne Ljungqvist (SWE) A member of the IOC since 1994. After an academic career that involved both teaching and administration within medical disciplines, he increasingly became involved in Swedish sport as he had served as a member on the IAAF medical commission since 1980. A former high jumper in the 1950s, he remains an important member of the IAAF and has been Vice-President since 1981. On joining the IOC his role has been concentrated on his specific area of experience. Indeed he had already served on the IOC Medical Commission (1987 –). He is a key member among those few IOC individuals who determine the specifics of the official anti-doping strategy.

Robin Everett Mitchell (FIJ) A member of the IOC since 1994. He had a long career within immunology and medicine and has had a specific and important role in the regional administration of sports medicine. He has been his NOC's president since 1997, served as Secretary General of ANOC (1993 –) and has also been a member of the ANOC Executive Council (1989 –). Despite having such an impressive array of experience he has only served on the IOC Medical Commission (1995 –).

Mario Pescante (ITA) A member of the IOC since 1994. He was a lecturer and journalist from a legal background and he had extensive experience in the administration of Italian Olympic matters. Following involvement with the NOC and later with the ANOC, such administrative experience is likely to be crucial. Already a member of the Commission for the Olympic programme (1992 –), on joining the IOC he has been involved in the New Sources of Financing commission (1995 –) and the Working Group on Women and Sport (1996 –).

Craig Collins Reddie (GBR) A member of the IOC since 1994. From a financial background he served as secretary and the President of the Scottish Badminton Union. After becoming president of IBF in 1981, he spent time on the GAISF council and later as Treasurer. An NOC Chairman, who has served on the New Sources of Financing Commission (1994 –), it is clear that his role in the IOC structure has already been established.

Austin Llewellyn Sealy (BAR) A member of the IOC since 1994. Following a background that included banking and diplomatic posts he had extensive and varied experience in the administration of national, regional and youth sport. An NOC president, since joining the IOC he has served on the Olympic Solidarity Commission (1995 –). A further administrative role seems probable in future.

Shamil Tarpishev (RUS) A member of the IOC since 1994. A background in the captaincy of the national Davis Cup team, he has chaired and served on a number of physical education commissions at a national level. His role within the IOC has so far been limited to membership of the Radio and Television commission (1995 –). A more extensive role seems certain in future, given the strategic importance of the Russian NOC to the wider Olympic movement.

Antun Vrdojak (CRO) A member of the IOC since 1995. Hailing from a media and political background he had a key role in the establishment of aspects of the fledgling Croatia including acting as President of the NOC since its creation in 1991. His specific role in the national democracy movement has made him a valued new IOC member. Since joining the IOC he has served on the Radio and Television commission (1996 –). The specificity of his role further highlights the emphasis upon the introduction of professionals from a number of specialised fields to assist the IOC in its expanding global role.

Olegario Vazquez Rana (MEX) A member of the IOC since 1995. From a business and entrepreneurial background, he proved his sporting prowess in both national and regional shooting events as well as having been a competitor at a number of Olympic Games and world championships. A member of the ASOISF council since 1987, he has been given an important role since joining the IOC. Appearing on the Enquiry Commission for the 2000 Olympic Games (1993 –) and the New Sources of Financing Commission (1994 –).

Sam Ramsamy (RSA) A member of the IOC since 1995. After a career in education and a long fight against apartheid, he has since enjoyed an important role within the United Nations as a consultant. He has had an important in anti-apartheid sport in South Africa, where he has been NOC president since 1991. He has subsequently managed national delegations at each Olympic Games, although his role has been limited in the post-apartheid era to service on the Sport and Environment commission (1996 –).

Rene Fasel (SWI) A member of the IOC since 1995. A captain in the army and later a dentist, he has served as a long-term Ice hockey referee and legislator. A member of the NOC since 1992, he

became president of the IIHF in 1994. He served as a IF representative of the Olympic Movement Commission (1994 –), but has since served on the New Sources of Financing commission (1995 –) and the coordination commission for the 2002 Winter Olympic Games (1996 –).

Reynaldo Gonzalez Lopez (CUB) A member of the IOC since 1995. An educator and social scientist, he has extensive experience in the administration of sport at a national level. His specific area of sporting expertise is within baseball. As an educationalist he has had a role within moves to expand women's participation and inclusion in Olympic structures, as a member of the Working Group on Women and Sport (1996 –).

Vera Caslavská (CZE) A member of the IOC since 1995. A physical educator, she had been a multiple Olympic champion in Gymnastics throughout the 1960s. As President of the Czech NOC, and a member of the European Gymnastics Union her administrative experience is clear. Since joining the IOC her involvement has been limited to membership of the Olympic Solidarity Commission (1996 –). As another female member, her inclusion in future administrative processes are likely to increase.

Patrick Joseph Hickey (IRE) A member of the IOC since 1995. From a business background and a career as an international Judo player, as well as extensive NOC and ANOC involvement, his membership of the IOC has seen him serve on the New Sources of Financing (1996 –) and Olympic Solidarity Commissions (1997 –). It remains to be seen whether his role will become more influential, as at present he is widely respected within Olympic structures.

Toni Khouri (LIB) A member of the IOC since 1995. A background in business interests in the Middle East, in the administration of basketball, the Libyan NOC, and a number of international and regional sports events, delegations and authorities. Since joining the IOC his role on the Olympic Solidarity Commission (1996 –) seems the limit of his involvement within the organisation.

Jean-Claude Killy (FRA) A member of the IOC since 1995. A world famous downhill skier and multiple Olympic champion, since joining the IOC his role has been steadily increasing. Service on the Coordination Commission for the 1998 Nagano Winter Olympics (1992 –), and the Salt Lake City Winter Games of 2002 (1996 –) as well as membership of the Sport and Environment Commission (1996 –) indicates his growing importance within present structures. His positive sporting image is certainly one that has been, and will be traded upon in terms of his involvement within the structure of the Olympic movement.

Mustapha Larfaoui (ALG) A member of the IOC since 1995. From a background in the administration of national swimming and water polo he moved swiftly onto regional representation. After becoming president of FINA the swimming governing body in 1988, he soon became a key member of the GAISF and ASOIF councils. Prior to joining the IOC he acted as a member of the Apartheid and Olympism Commission, as well as the Olympic Movement Commission. Since joining the IOC his role has developed to include service on the Evaluation and Coordination commission for the 2000 Olympic Games (1996 –) as well as the Working group on Women and Sport (1997 –). Although age is against him, a key role on future commissions seems likely.

Syed Shahid Ali (PAK) A member of the IOC since 1996. Hailing from a background in business, involving numerous corporate directorships, his sporting experience has been in the administration of national wrestling and polo. An executive member of the NOC, his role since joining the IOC has been limited to membership of the Olympic Solidarity Commission (1998 –). His future role seems to be limited as his area of expertise and specialisation is already well served within the IOC membership.

Kun Hee Lee (KOR) A member of the IOC since 1996. After a sporting career in wrestling, he was extensively involved in Korean business and industry throughout the 1970s and 1980s. On becoming the president of the Korean Wrestling federation in 1982, he also became a member of the NOC in the same year. A recipient of the Olympic Order in 1991 his service on the IOC has been limited to membership of the Cultural Commission (1997 –).

Gunilla Lindberg (SWE) A member of the IOC since 1996. A member of the Swedish NOC since 1969, she has extensive experience of sports administration at both the national and regional level. Involvement with the operation of various Olympic Games led to her becoming increasingly incorporated into European sports administration. As an EOC board member since 1993, and as a member of the ANOC executive board since 1995, she is a key figure for the representation of Women and the NOCs. She has already served on the Working Group on Women and Sport (1996 –), the Press Commission (1997 –) and on the Working Group for the Olympic Programme for the 2000 and the 2004 Olympic Games (1997 –).

Guy Drut (FRA) A member of the IOC since 1996. From a purely political background his initial training was as a physical education teacher. He shone at international sport, especially athletics culminating in his 110 metre hurdles victory at the 1976 Olympic Games. A former athlete, his

role has yet to be extended to service on any particular committees. His future role remains uncertain although the leadership of the IOC view former athletes as a crucial administrative group.

Shengrong Lu (CHN) A member of the IOC since 1996. Initially a foreign language teacher, she also served on the national commission for physical education and sport from 1972. She soon moved on to administer and advise the Chinese Badminton Federation and later the regional governing body. She progressed within both of these authorities to hold significant and senior posts. Despite her experience as IBF president (1996 –), she has still only served on the Working Group on Women and Sport (1995 –), a committee she served on prior to joining the IOC. She will have an important future role as the IOC seeks to include China in the Olympic Movement.

Julio Cesar Maglione (URU) A member of the IOC since 1996. A public health minister he has had extremely extensive experience of national sports administration, including both football and swimming. Despite his receipt of the ANOC Order of Merit (1994), his limited specific involvement since joining the IOC has meant that so far he has only served upon the Evaluation commission for the Games of the 2004 Olympics (1998 –). It remains to be seen whether his role will expand much in future.

Tomas Amos Ganda Sithole (ZIM) A member of the IOC since 1996. He has a background as a journalist and also has experience of the aviation industry. Despite having had a limited sports career, his credentials are his experience within the NOC and the wider ANOCA (1991) and ANOC (1992). Clearly this is someone who could be useful to the organisation, yet he has so far had a limited role within present structures, with service on the Sport and Environment Commission (1997 –).

Hein Verbruggen (NED) A member of the IOC since 1996. After a distinguished business career he had been involved in the administration of national and regional cycling since the late 1970s. He became President of the ICU in 1991, and served as an ISF representative of the Commission for the 2004 Olympic Games (1996 –). Within the IOC he was given a role on the New Sources of Financing Commission from (1997 –).

George Killian (USA) A member of the IOC since 1996. Hailing from an educational background he has had close involvement with the administration of national amateur basketball and the USOC. His international sports administration experience has been extensive from the early

1980s onwards. He has served as a member of the Radio and Television Commission (1994 –). As he is now 77 years old it is unlikely that he will have a more extended role in future.

S.A.R. L'Infante Dona Pilar de Borbon (ESP) A member of the IOC since 1996. She has an aristocratic background although this has been supplemented by numerous business directorships. The Presidency of the International Equestrian Federation (FEI) paved the way for her entry into the IOC. Since joining the organisation her role has yet to include involvement in Olympic administration to any significant degree.

Ung Chang (PRK) A member of the IOC since 1996. A background in the military, and national experience in the organisation of basketball, followed his long-term captaincy of the national basketball team. As a member of the NOC and Secretary General of the organising committee of regional games, since joining the IOC his administrative involvement has been limited to the Sport for All Commission (1997 –). Due to the delicate nature of diplomatic relations within the region it is unlikely that his involvement will be extended in the near future.

Ottavio Cinquanta (ITA) A member of the IOC since 1996. From a business background, he has been involved in officiating over a number of international sporting events, and has valuable experience from acting as President of the ISU (1994 –). Prior to joining the IOC, he acted as an ISF member of the Olympic Solidarity Commission (1994 –) and Olympic Movement Commissions (1994 –). On joining the IOC, the Coordination Commission for the Salt Lake City Winter Games of 2002 (1998 –) benefited from his experience. Undoubtedly he remains a highly respected IOC member and someone who is capable of taking the Olympic movement forward.

Nawal El Moutawakel Bennis (MAR) A member of the IOC since 1998. A distinguished athletic career including Olympic champion at the Los Angeles Games of 1984 (400m hurdles) she has had a significant role in the development of physical education at a national level. Administrative experience has been limited to the national level and since joining the IOC her role within the present structure is still to be established. As a female member it is likely that she will be included in the future administrative structure.

Dr Leopold Wallner (AUT) A member of the IOC since 1998. Hailing from a political and social research background that led him into a business and public service career, he has been president of the NOC since 1990. A key public figure at a national level, he has had extensive administrative experience within political and non-political structures. His role within the IOC however, has yet to be defined, as he has not yet served on any IOC Commissions.

Irena Szewinska (POL) A member of the IOC since 1998. She is an important athlete within the history of the Olympic Games, she was a five-time Olympian between 1964 and 1980. A truly outstanding athlete and multiple Olympic medallist, her involvement so far has been limited to membership of the Coordination Commission for the 2004 Olympic Games (1998 –).

Major General Mounir Sabet (EGY) A member of the IOC since 1998. From a military and aviation background he has had extensive national experience in the administration of shooting competitions, yet he has had limited experience at a more regional level. Latterly however, he has served as an Executive Board member of the Arab Sports Confederation (1997 –), and International Mediterranean Games Committee (1997 –). Since joining the IOC he has yet to be given a specific administrative role.

Meliton Sanchez Rivas (PAN) A member of the IOC since 1998. From a financial and business background as well as a career as an accountant, he has had experience in the administration of national and regional softball. Despite having served as an official at various Olympic Games, his IOC role since joining has been very limited indeed.

Ser Miang Ng (SIN) A member of the IOC since 1998. A company director and national figure in the administration of sport, including vice-president of the NOC since 1991. On joining the IOC, he has had a limited role so far, yet his elevation to the IOC has been meteoric. His future role seems significant.

Samih Moudallal (SYR) A member of the IOC since 1998. Hailing from a financial and political background he has had a lengthy involvement in sport at all levels. A champion weightlifter from the early 1950s, he subsequently became a key figure in both national and regional sports administration. He has acted as the president of the Syrian Olympic delegation since the mid-1970s. Since joining the IOC he has yet to experience a specific role within the organisational structure.

S.A.R. le Prince Henri de Luxembourg (LUX) A member of the IOC since 1998. Hailing from an aristocratic background he has had negligible sports administration experience and so far his role within the Olympic structures has been severely limited. His image as a patron of a number of national and regional sports associations helps to maintain the wider organisational links between the various bodies within the Olympic Movement.

S.A.R. Le Prince d'Orange (NED) A member of the IOC since 1998. Again from an aristocratic background and having had little sports administration, his service as patron of a number of national and regional sports associations, establishes his credentials. A participant in a variety of sporting pastimes it is likely that his role will entail the preservation of a desirable and coherent organisational image, through the Olympic Movement's vicarious association with his aristocratic roots.

Joseph Sepp Blatter (SUI) A member of the IOC since 1999. He has a distinguished career in sports administration having served as the general secretary of the Swiss Ice-Hockey Federation and joined FIFA in 1975 as Technical Director. He has also served his country as a member of the Swiss Association of Sports Writers since 1956. His role is likely to be expanded soon as football remains a vital Olympic sport.

It is clear that there are numerous reasons for certain IOC members being appointed. Whether this is as a result of pressure from the NOCs, an individual's experience and expertise, an individual's social status and standing, or because of their particular use to the organisation in terms of addressing pressing issues, is irrelevant. Of paramount importance, however, to the organisation is how each individual member acts as a member of the IOC. The wider organisation's future depends upon appointing the correct people to positions of influence, in order to maintain and develop what has so far been established. It is essential for the future of the organisation that the image that it has of itself remains as close as possible to the wider, projected public-image.

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